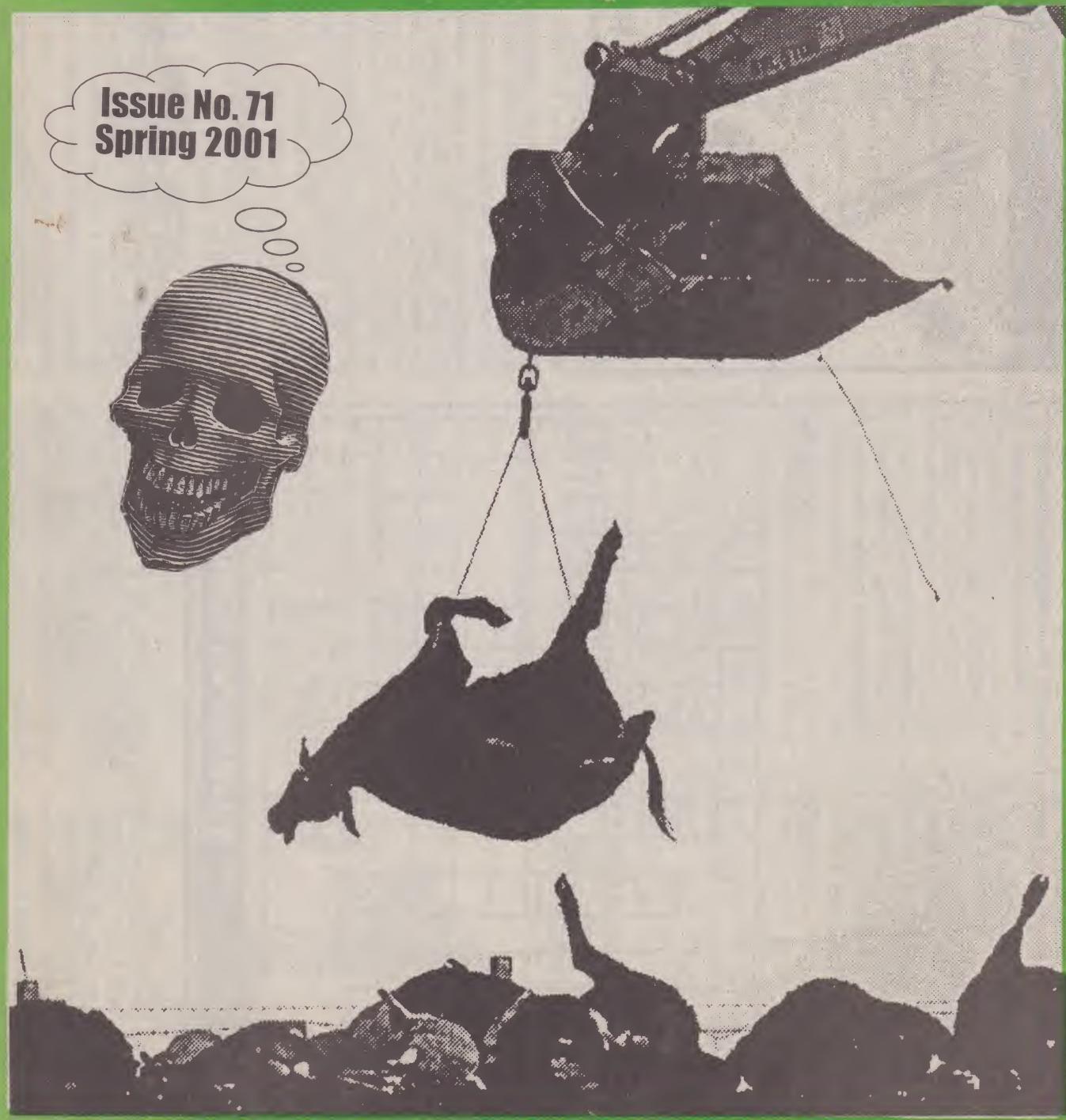


# SLINGSHOT

Issue No. 71  
Spring 2001



# SLINGSHOT



Pushing the corporate elites' buttons

World rises

## Plan Columbia:

# *Plan for domination*

By James LaForêt

"We have to win the fight in Colombia. We have to win the fight for the Free Trade Area of the Americas. We have to prove that freedom and free markets go hand in hand. That's what you believe, and we're going to be given a chance to prove it." Thus Clinton ended his March 4th, 2000 address to the Council of the Americas, a Washington-based corporate front group founded in 1965 by David Rockefeller.

That "chance to prove it" has taken shape in the form of Plan Colombia, an ambitious package of foreign aid intended to promote US domination of South America and lay the groundwork for further intervention in anticipation of the planned enforcement of the Free Trade Area of the Americas. "The fight" is against various Marxist rebel groups that operate in and control large stretches of the Colombian jungle, as well as against farmers and indigenous people who

have been made by petroleum corporations, including BP Amoco, Occidental and Enron, who wish to secure and extend their access to Colombia's oil reserves. "It's business for us, and we are as aggressive as anybody", a Bell Helicopter lobbyist said. "I'm just trying to sell helicopters".

Some of these helicopters have already been delivered, and put into action as US-trained anti-drug battalions began a new

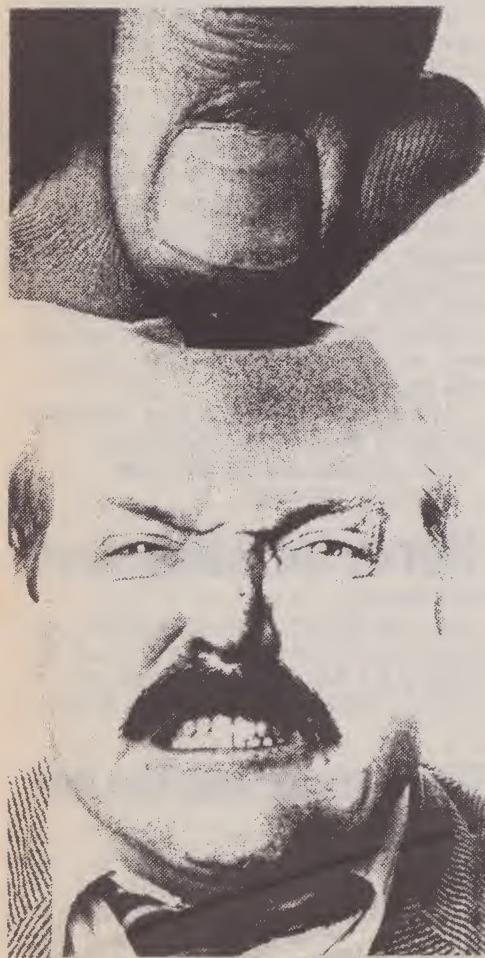
**"It's business for us, and we are as aggressive as anybody," a Bell Helicopters lobbyist said. "I'm just trying to sell helicopters."**

deployed under the name of Agent Orange in the US government's campaign of genocide against the people of Southeast Asia.

Recent reports from the ground in Colombia are that "The coca trees look really good, but everything else is dead." Villagers and indigenous peoples who have been sprayed with the substance, as well as medical personnel who have treated them, have been reporting various intoxication symptoms, including dizziness, nausea, muscle and joint pain, and skin rashes. US officials have vehemently denied the veracity of these reports. Glyphosate is "less toxic than table salt", one US embassy official in Colombia told the New York Times, claiming that the reported adverse effects are "scientifically impossible".

It is feared that this failure of the poison to kill its intended target will lead to the use of even stronger poisons, in particular Eucarium. Eucarium fungicin has served as the

campaign of crop eradication by aerial spraying with glyphosate (Roundup), a her-



Pushing the corporate elites' buttons

## World rises to Resist “Free” Trade

April 20-22 protests set  
against modern colonialism

By Glassy I.D. Sharpshooter

For at least 500 years, people have been struggling against forces of colonization and globalization. The latest chapter in the struggle is the fight over the Free Trade Area

By James LaForêt

"We have to win the fight in Colombia. We have to win the fight for the Free Trade Area of the Americas. We have to prove that freedom and free markets go hand in hand. That's what you believe, and we're going to be given a chance to prove it." Thus Clinton ended his March 4th, 2000 address to the Council of the Americas, a Washington-based corporate front group founded in 1965 by David Rockefeller.

That "chance to prove it" has taken shape in the form of Plan Colombia, an ambitious package of foreign aid intended to promote US domination of South America and lay the groundwork for further intervention in anticipation of the planned enforcement of the Free Trade Area of the Americas. "The fight" is against various Marxist rebel groups that operate in and control large stretches of the Colombian jungle, as well as against farmers and indigenous people who stand in the way of the unbridled exploitation of resources demanded by Clinton's, and now Bush's, corporate constituency.

A centerpiece of the aid, 90% of which is military, involves funneling over \$400 million in taxpayer money to United Technologies subsidiary Sikorsky Aircraft and Bell Helicopter Textron, manufacturers respectively of the Black Hawk and Huey military helicopters, who have recently spent close to 2 million in Capitol Hill lobbying efforts. Similar efforts for increased US interventions

# Plan Columbia: *Plan for domination*

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campaign of crop eradication by aerial spraying with glyphosate (Roundup), a herbicide marketed by Monsanto Corporation. The spraying is of course indiscriminate. Monsanto has a long history of involvement in chemical warfare, going back to 1949, when an explosion at its Nitro, West Virginia plant produced unexplained disease symptoms in the surrounding population, drawing the attention of the US Army Chemical Corps. The substance responsible, later identified as dioxin—one of the most toxic substances known—was a byproduct in various Monsanto herbicides, which were

deployed under the name of Agent Orange in the US government's campaign of genocide against the people of Southeast Asia.

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It is feared that this failure of the poison to kill its intended target will lead to the use of even stronger poisons, in particular Fusarium. Fusarium fungus has served as the base for many chemical weapons developed in the US and elsewhere. The last known attempt to use Fusarium was back in 1999, when Col. Jim McDonough, a former colleague of White House drug czar and Plan Colombia proponent Gen. Barry McCaffrey hired by Florida governor Jeb Bush, recommended that it be used to eradicate Florida's marijuana crop. The plan was stopped over concerns that the fungus's mutagenic-

Continued on page 17

Decolonizing my body

# **to Resist “Free” Trade**

## **April 20-22 protests set against modern colonialism**

By Glassy I.D. Sharpshooter

For at least 500 years, people have been struggling against forces of colonization and globalization. The latest chapter in the struggle is the fight over the Free Trade Area of the Americas. This agreement, which is currently under the secret review of 31 governments and 500 corporate heads, attempts once more to fortify corporate power at the expense of local people and the environment. Luckily, resistance all over the western hemisphere is growing strong.

By the time the treaty is discussed in Quebec City April 20-22, people from Bolivia to Brazil to Mexico, the US and Canada will be hard at work creating networks of international solidarity that can stand up to the threat of corporate-controlled globalization. In addition to massive protests at the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City, local actions, teach-ins and events are expected worldwide. In Quebec, thousands of police are planning Canada's largest ever security operation to handle expected large protests. A 3 meter tall fence cordoning off several square miles of downtown Quebec is under construction and the city council has passed a law banning face masks. US activists attempting to enter Canada have been stopped at the Border because they appeared on blacklists supplied by US authorities.

So what exactly is this treaty that is important enough to generate these massive protests? Essentially, the FTAA is an

**Continued on page 18**

A graphic of two strands of barbed wire crossing each other, symbolizing political or social boundaries.

Page 13

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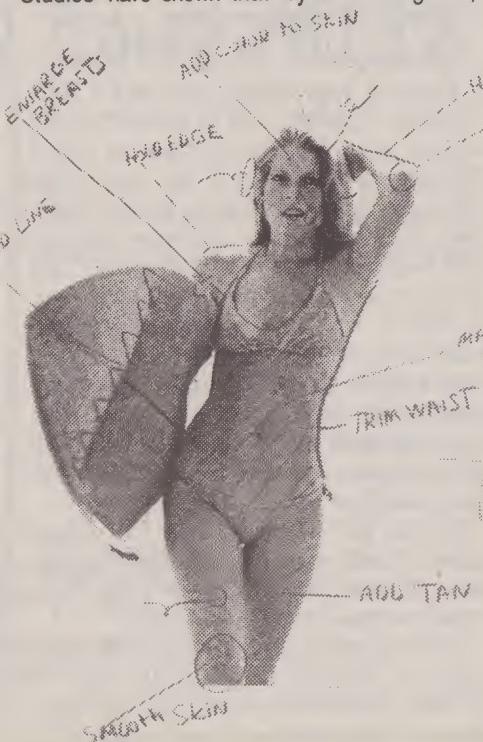
Continued on page 17

# *Reclaiming my body*

by Tracey Lee

In a past conversation with a friend about junk food, I expressed a concern that I eat too much of it. Not because I'm worried about gaining weight, but because of the harmful effects of the empty calories, saturated fat, sugar, and excessive salt. He commented, "Don't worry about eating too much, you look great." He had no idea how that comment irritated me. I got to thinking about the way a woman's body is viewed, both by herself and others. Too often, if a woman is talking about food, it's in the context of the way it will look on her outside, not what it's doing for her inside. "Oh, I may as well just apply this ice cream straight to my thighs," says the guilty dieter. For most of my life, that's the way I felt about food, guilty for eating it & worrying about how it was going to make me look.

I learned to diet from all of the women around me; my mother, my aunts, my older sister. Even my grandma was always apologizing for indulging in something "too fattening". This wasn't so unusual, considering that a quarter of American adults are on diets and two thirds of all American women, including many who are average-sized or thin, believe they're overweight. I have a very clear memory of the official start of my diet career. My older sister's meals were all of a sudden being modified. The skin was being taken off her chicken. She wasn't eating potatoes & bread. Salads had become her mainstay. I was



60% of all girls want to be thinner. From kindergarten on, if you show kids drawings of children with different body types & ask them what kind of people they are, they'll say that the thin children are cuter, more popular, nicer, neater & smarter than those with an average or chubby body.

I had never considered that the "thin is good" paradigm may be wrong. Rather, I thought there was something wrong with me, for I had tried for so many years to be thin, without success. In my early 20's I turned to "professional" help, I went to a diet clinic. They started by taking my check in exchange for an extremely limited list of foods I could eat and how many servings of each I could have per day. I became obsessed with food. I could only think of it in terms of whether or not I was allowed to eat it. Finally, one night, after cheating on my diet with a candy bar, I snapped. I gorged myself with everything I could find in the house that wasn't on my list, then ate a raw egg to make myself throw up. It wasn't long before I was able to make myself throw up at will. My bulimia lasted for 3 years, which I overcame when I became a vegetarian and developed a much healthier attitude toward food.

I became a vegetarian in college, when I learned how our food consumption was tied into environmental degradation. I read everything I could get my hands on about being

Continued on page 19

## SLINGSHOT

Slingshot is a quarterly, independent, radical newspaper published in the East Bay since 1988. This issue, we're coming back from the printer on March 9, our 13th Birthday!

As usual, it looked like this issue would suck right up until the last minute when a bunch of really amazing articles came in and saved our ass! So, also as usual, this is a totally great issue and you should read every word. Check out pages 13-16, which contain the longest (and one of the best) articles we've ever published. If you have our 2001 Organizer, it is a great compliment to the "revolution" article that appeared there. Our collective and list of authors just expanded so look for lots of new voices and energy in this issue.

While we were making the paper, a lot of strange stuff happened to thwart us, but we survived anyway: a computer died and ate articles, our two waxers broke, our favorite Ethiopian restaurant dramatically raised their prices, and at the last minute a whole bunch of crucial graphics fell through a tiny space at the rear of a layout table into the wall—to be lost forever. Oh well—enjoy this issue.

We're always looking for writers, artists, photographers, editors, distributors and free-thinkers to make Slingshot better. We could really use some original art. Slingshot accepts unsolicited articles and letters. Please email or send a disk if you can.

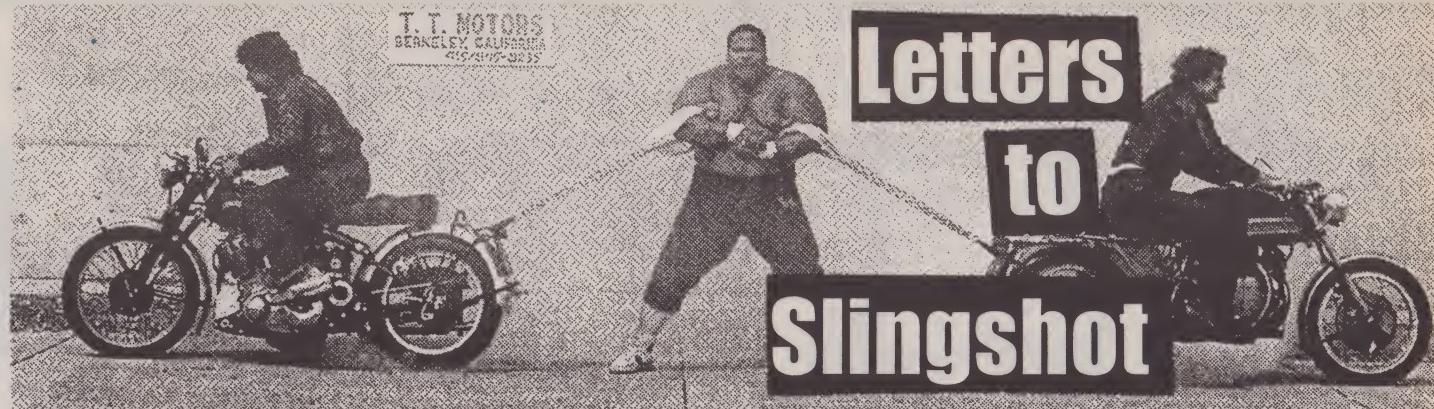
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### Slingshot Volunteer Meeting

Volunteers interested in getting involved in Slingshot can meet with us on April 29 at 4 pm at the Long Haul in Berkeley (see below).

### Article Deadline & Next Issue Date

The projected deadline for article submission for Issue #72 is May 31, 2001. Issue #72 is expected to be out on June 15,



## Letters

to

## Slingshot

### Still for Revolution

Dear Slingshot,

Thank you for the Slingshot Organizer, which delights me. Someday I'd like to talk with you about "Your Vision" in the informative appendix. I well remember the days when, during the McCarthy period, the FBI spent a good deal of time questioning people in Roosevelt [New Jersey] about their radical neighbors. Our neighbors managed to get our auto insurance company to cross us off their list. Luckily we had an insurance agency friend help get us a new policy whether we were dangerous politically or not.

I spent the afternoon boxing up the notes my husband kept when he was doing a column of dates for a magazine called *New Masses* in the 1930s. You may find a lot of the events too concerned with the interest of communists, which we were at that time. But there are a lot of significant labor and progressive events that he noted, too. The slips of paper reflect our finances — too poor to buy many 3 X 5 cards. At any rate I hope you find the stuff of some use [in the 2002 Organizer], and — if not — of interest as reflecting the radicalism of people in your grandparents' day.

Thanks also for the copies of *Slingshot*. I expect you don't approve of the *People's Weekly World*, which I also get, but your paper complements it for me with its different take on some of the news. Since I'm 94 years old, I guess you'll have to forgive me for such a liberal attitude. Secretly, though, I'm still for revolution.

And also Peace! Mary

### Glad you didn't send

### America's largest public housing project

Dear Friends:

I am a hostage of the federal government, held in what has become Amerika's largest public housing project, prison. We are crowded into cells barely big enough for one, some holding three men, and now they are taking away our TV rooms to make them into ten man cells. In the past nine months, the population in the federal prison system has grown by more than 7,500 people. That's an increase of more than 5%, while the U.S. Justice Dept. says that the national average in all of 1999 for prison population growth was only 3.4%. But, I guess, the federal government wants to be the biggest, outdoing all the states.

With such a large population, and so little to do, a person could really go crazy in this place, losing touch with all reality. Our library, if you could call it that, is a major joke! With books missing pages, so old that my grandfather read it years ago, or written on subjects that even the most bored person wouldn't find interesting, it is hard to find a decent book to read. Non-fiction books are virtually non-existent, and books on political subjects (other than— and I joke not— Truman and Eisenhower) are not even considered by the powers that be to be placed in our non-library.

Hence my plea to you, please consider sending me any materials that you have available, especially a copy of your newspaper. I am very interested in getting on your mailing list, however, with the slave wages we are paid here, I am unable to pay for a subscription. Please help me to stay in touch with reality and maintain my

2. A Wiccan in prison has no right to have, own, or craft any ritual item connected to the practice of Wicca.

3. A Wiccan in prison has no right to celebrate ESBAT or Sabbat in peace and safety.

4. Books on Wicca, obtained in a legitimate manner, are often confiscated improperly.

Many prisoners draw their strength and ability to survive prison through the practice of Wicca, which is a most positive and life affirming religion, one opposed to abuses of both persons or the earth itself. This helps explain why the opposition to us is so implacable; we are the very opposite view and belief of those that control and profit from prisons.

If there are any who wish to know more about the plight of Wiccans, please contact me.

Vernon Maulsby, Box 244 #AY-4429  
Graterford, PA 19426

### Horny for Slingshot

Dear Slingshot,

Your newspaper makes me inspired and passionate. Whenever I get my hands on it I devour it and then carry it everywhere with me for days. Yeah Slingshot. —Jessamyn, Portland

### Don't break with the left

Dear Editor:

A collective member in your Fall 2000 issue wrote that she believed that anarchists were not part of the left, and should stop working with "leftists" on actions and other projects. Ironically, another member wrote forcefully in the same issue of the need to broaden coalitions. Obviously, there is diametric tension between these perspectives.

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Phone: (510) 540-0751

Email: [slingshot@tao.ca](mailto:slingshot@tao.ca)

<http://www.tao.ca/~slingshot>



One blue vegan yields enough skin to make 147  
vegan blue leather Organizers.

### Slingshot Trivia:

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And also Peace! Mary

## Glad you didn't send Slingshot

Slingshot,

I'm writing to let you guys know that my last issue received was the Spring 2000 issue and I'd be very happy if you renewed my subscription. I've missed almost a year of your zine but wouldn't have gotten it anyway because I've been in "segregation" most of the time for refusing to slave in the state sweatshop for 30 cents a day and have refused to submit to urinalysis tests or take part in any of disciplinary hearings (kangaroo court). So I guess it's kind of good you didn't send any more issues since I wouldn't have gotten them anyway. I have since been released from segregation and moved to another facility of a higher custody level.

I also have a favor to ask. Would it be possible for you to send me a list of addresses so I can become more familiar with some of the movements out there? I've been entrenched in the EF! Journal and Green Anarchy but have been interested in contacting the Rukus Society and Black Bloc and other anarchist organisations. I was wondering if you'd maybe help. Thanks for your time and free subscription, it really means a lot to me.

Down By Law, Your friend,  
Joshua Vail #96918, LCF 4-B, Box 10000,  
Limon, CO 80826

People in prison increased by more than 8%, while the U.S. Justice Dept. says that the national average in all of 1999 for prison population growth was only 3.4%. But, I guess, the federal government wants to be the biggest, outdoing all the states.

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Thank you for considering my request, and please know that whatever is sent will be appreciated, read, and shared with others in here. And, perhaps once we finish with it, I might even be able to slip it into our library!

In Struggle and Solidarity!  
Glenn Wright #40494-004  
FCI PO Box 5000, Greenville, IL 62246



## Wiccans in Prisons

Dear Slingshot:

I read Slingshot with great interest when it arrives. What continues to dismay me is how the Wiccan prison population continues to have their prison issues totally ignored by your editorial collective.

Just in case you are (or claim) to be ignorant of our plight in prison, here is a brief recap of the issues we currently face:

1. A Wiccan in prison has no right to practice their religion.

from prisons.

If there are any who wish to know more about the plight of Wiccans, please contact me.

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The first writer's position is, at best, ahistorical. Anarchism is a set of principles or ideas came out of the Enlightenment, during the time of the old aristocracy's decline, and emergent capitalism. All ideologies of that time (I would suggest now as well) took positions vis a vis the new class relationships. Ideologies which favored the poor were (are) called "left." Those which favored privilege were "right."

Since the hallmark of anarchism is advocacy of the elimination of the state, we can say that the opposite of anarchism is statism. The state has always functioned, at various times, both to protect privilege, and to protect the poor against the worst excesses of privilege. Thus, just as there have always been both left and right statists, there have also been both left and right anarchists. The question is, which are you?

This question, on an individual level, is easily answered. If you believe in basic human rights (what the Enlightenment chauvinistically called the Rights of Man) and especially if you believe that the earth is a common treasury to which we all have equal entitlement, limited only by the ability of the earth to reproduce its bounty and beauty for future generations, then you are a left anarchist. If, on the other hand, you believe that the law of the jungle in which the strong eat the weak is the highest form of justice, then you are a right anarchist.

Presumably, most anarchist readers and writers for Slingshot belong, more or less, to the former group. Do not abandon the left. The law of the jungle has been gaining ground now for a quarter century, and threatens to engulf us all.

—Dave Linn, Berkeley

## SLINGSHOT Organizer update

Thanks to everyone who purchased a 2001

you are a group that wants a listing, please



# COMMUNIQUES

FROM:  
RED CLOUD  
+ THUNDER

FROM:  
ARMY of  
the  
WORKING POOR

by Grasshopper

Fuck You Forest Service! and greetings from Fall Creek tree occupation, Oregon! Yes, we're still here well into our third year of occupation of this lovely old forest, still keeping the lying, thieving de-forestation Service at bay. Although the Clark timber sale has been on hold since December 99 for red tree vole surveys, the bastards have rushed all that through as quickly as possible, allowed Zip-O Lumber (of Eugene) a 1 year extension on their contract and, by all indications, plan on letting them in here to cut this spring (May 1 possibly). We've girth-climbed lots of trees,

You want us out of our homes; you want us out of our city.

We want you out, too.

On the night of December 13, we broke the windows of Zephyr Real Estate, and we smeared paint on their building. Zephyr real estate deserved it: [they are] responsible for the evictions of hundreds, maybe thousands, of San Francisco families, responsible for what happens to us after we are evicted (hunger, homelessness, displacement).

They break our spirits and our families; we broke a few windows.

They evict us from our homes; we smeared some paint on their building.

They have insurance to replace their

MORE THOUGHTS ON SEXUALITY

RadioActive  
Queers  
87.9 FM

Do you want to hear radio programming that is more than 50% Queer, more than 60% weird, and more than 100% non-commercial, non-profit, and non-professional (in the very best way)?

RadioActive Queers 87.9 FM is a microradio station broadcasting every Saturday (9 am-midnight) and Monday (3pm-10pm) in North Oakland and South Berkeley.

Programming includes almost everything you might want on the airwaves: techno, punk, hip

## OCCUPY VANDENBERG AFB!!

Protesters will occupy South Vandenberg Air Force Base on Armed Forces Day, May 19, 2001. Anti-ballistic missiles and counter-intelligence satellites, including surveillance technology being used in the war against Columbia, are launched from South Vandenberg AFB.

Vandenberg, a nexus of Star Wars activity, was the site of major protests during the Reagan era. The Bush administration has raised Star Wars from its grave; the \$60 billion scheme is a cover-up for Theater Missile Defense (TMD), a strategy for deploying an umbrella of anti-ballistic missiles over US troops anywhere in the world. Both Star Wars and TMD are basically subsidies for the defense/aerospace industries, diverting money away from good science like renewable energy research.

Protests at Vandenberg are in solidarity with the indigenous people of the Kwajalein Islands, the landing site for anti-ballistic missile tests launched at Vandenberg.

The May action is a nonviolent backcountry security zone occupation. A film about Vandenberg will be available soon. For more information, contact 831/423-1626.

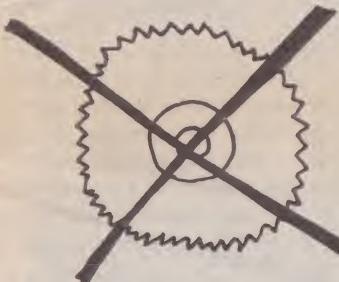


# THUNDER

## WORKING Poor

by Grasshopper

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found several more vole nests to jam up their bloody gears but have no delusions about our enemy and its intentions, one who writes, breaks and re-writes the rules to suit its own felonious fancies. In one of the most classic true-life tales of Good vs. Evil ever told, we've put our lives on the line (literally) to keep those greed eyed federal nature-raping chain-sawing sons & daughters of clear-cutting bastards and bitches greedy money-grubbing hands the Fuck off this magical ancient forest and **we ain't about to give up now!**

Honka hey! I don't have to tell you that strength is in numbers but I will tell you that we need you badly this spring. If you truly love what little wilderness that's left (thanks to them, less than 5 percent of Mother Nature's-our-your kid's ancient forests remain) then you'll be here this spring to walk your talk and help us put this god be-cursed white-Anglo-Saxon Protestant male-oriented technoh-industrial-manifest destiny juggernaut in its

You want us out of our homes; you want us out of our city.

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They break our spirits and our families; we broke a few windows.

They evict us from our homes; we smeared some paint on their building.

They have insurance to replace their windows; and we have residential hotels, soup lines, and unemployment.

On the uneven field of combat we find ourselves on we are not the antagonists Forced out of our city and forced out of our homes, all we can do is react.

We tried reasoning and understanding, we tried the streets and the planning commission, and we tried the ballot box; now we try bricks and the cover of fog.

What we try next is up to you, we have our eye on escalation.

We isolated a symptom, a real estate agent, the cough that lets us know we have bronchitis.

The disease is the government and



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RadioActive Queers 87.9 FM is a microradio station broadcasting every Saturday (9 am-midnight) and Monday (3pm-10pm) in North Oakland and South Berkeley.

Programming includes almost everything you might want on the airwaves: techno, punk, hip hop, old sci-fi radio plays, Noam Chomsky, discussions of masturbation, science news, porn, the weekly literary hour, ..... and it varies every week!

Station highlights include live anal sex, a live interview with Company of Prophets, and a covert broadcast in front of the National Association of Broadcasters conference.

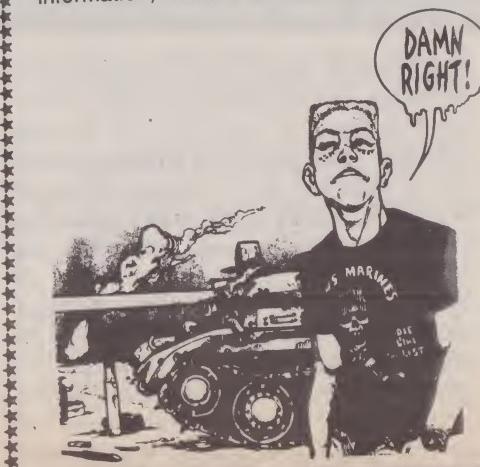
You too can get involved. You don't have to be queer; we think hearing straight dj's announce the "Radioactive Queers" station ID is a small yet important revolutionary act. The point of the station is not to provide programming just for queers, but to point out how everyone, in some way or another, might be queer.

Call the voicemail: (510) 239-2239 x 2477. Send tapes or \$ or love if you live outside our broadcast range!

diverting funds, solidifying energy research.

Protests at Vandenberg are in solidarity with the indigenous people of the Kwajalein Islands, the landing site for anti-ballistic missile tests launched at Vandenberg.

The May action is a nonviolent backcountry security zone occupation. A film about Vandenberg will be available soon. For more information, contact 831/423-1626.



RECYCLERS GO  
IWW

The East Bay Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) won a unanimous NLRB election on February 7 to represent largely spanish-speaking workers at Community Conservation Centers/The Buy Back in Berkeley, CA. The election was 16 yes, 0 no.

None of the usual union-busting allowed by NLRB regulation loopholes occurred. However, the process was smooth only because the boss chose not to cause problems; the NLRB system still sucks.

BOOKSTORES NEED  
YOUR SUPPORT //

A few anarchist book sources have been going through some major changes, and we thought we'd keep you up to date.

books online at [www.akpress.org](http://www.akpress.org).

The Long Haul Infoshop in Berkeley just starting carrying new books (from AK press)



found several more vole nests to jam up their bloody gears but have no delusions about our enemy and its intentions, one who writes, breaks and re-writes the rules to suit its own felonious fancies. In one of the most classic true-life tales of Good vs. Evil ever told, we've put our lives on the line (literally) to keep those greed eyed federalé nature-raping chain-sawing sons & daughters of clear-cutting bastards and bitches greedy money-grubbing hands the Fuck off this magical ancient forest and ***we ain't about to give up now!***

Honka hey! I don't have to tell you that strength is in numbers but I will tell you that we need you badly this spring. If you truly love what little wilderness that's left (thanks to them, less than 5 percent of Mother Nature's-our-your kid's ancient forests remain) then you'll be here this spring to walk your talk and help us put this god be-cursed white-Anglo-Saxon Protestant male-oriented techn-industrial-manifest destiny juggernaut in its place and keep it there. Many folks have flaked on us feeling the vole hold has saved the forest. Wrong. Hopefully they'll be back this spring or you'll be here to take their place, either up in one of our many tree sits or fucking shut up on the ground—whatever best suits you. If you are for the trees then we are for you, and if your heart's not in it, get your ass out. Infiltrators, agents, disruptors will be tarred, feathered, bound, gagged, pissed and shat upon. All others will achieve some level of sainthood (so long as you don't injure or kill one of the bastards.)

Come Out! Help out!! Do Something!!! Wake Up!!!

For more info, contact Red Cloud Thunder, PO Box 11122, Eugene, OR 97440, (541) 684-8977, redcloud@efn.org, [www.ecoecho.org](http://www.ecoecho.org). Drop by Out of the Fog Cafe or Morning Glory Cafe in Eugene for directions to the Forest (just 45 miles away.)

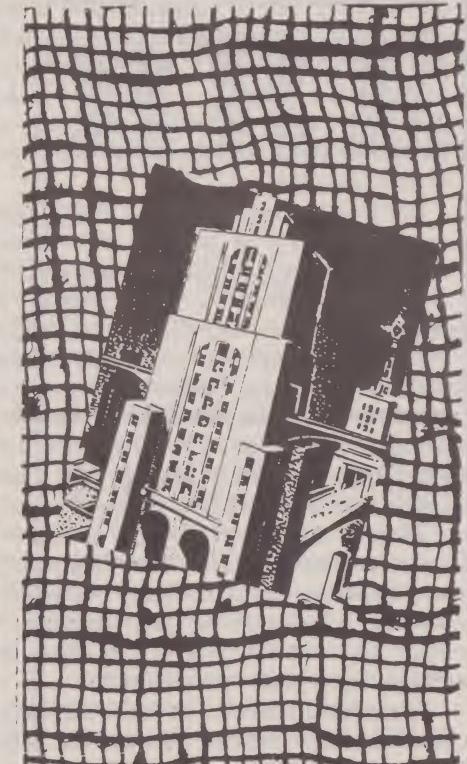
ourselves on we are not the antagonists, we are the victims, we are the ones who have been kicked out of our city and forced out of our homes, all we can do is react.

We tried reasoning and understanding, we tried the streets and the planning commission, and we tried the ballot box; now we try bricks and the cover of fog.

What we try next is up to you, *we have our eye on escalation.*

We isolated a symptom, a real estate agent, the cough that lets us know we have bronchitis.

The disease is the government and



capitalism. This action should not be seen as an attack, not as a response in like; we haven't gotten there yet. It is more like a greeting card; a statement of intent; a breaking of the ice.

The warning shot is coming, and the war is after that. Don't think that we aimed low this time, we just aimed reasonably.

We look forward to the day that you will leave us alone, we look forward to peace, good education, good food, and no police. We look forward to freedom. We dream, but when we wake up you are still there. Please leave.

every week!

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## BOOKSTORES NEED YOUR SUPPORT // xx

A few anarchist book sources have been going through some major changes, and we thought we'd keep you up to date.

After many years as a bookstore/infoshop, Blackout books closed its doors on Manhattan's Lower East Side this past fall, due to a loss of funding source and a lack of volunteer support in securing a much-needed new location.

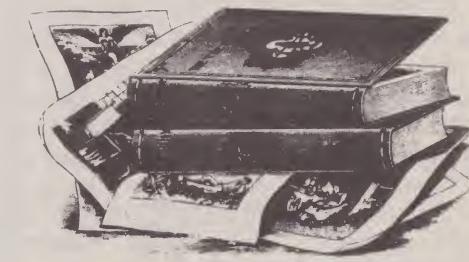
Another long-time anarchist collective, Left Bank Distribution in Seattle, has been going through financial crises and as a result will be scaling down its operations somewhat to cut overhead costs. They are reducing stock on hand and moving all inventory to their retail space on Pike Street. Individuals can order books online at [www.leftbankbooks.com](http://www.leftbankbooks.com).

AK Press, the publishing and distribution collective has settled into their new digs in Oakland. They are indeed up and running but need volunteer support, since they lost some of their San Francisco volunteer staff. You can inquire about volunteering or about AK's upcoming readings & other events by calling (510) 208-1700 or e-mailing them at [akpress@akpress.org](mailto:akpress@akpress.org). You can also order

books online at [www.akpress.org](http://www.akpress.org).

The Long Haul Infoshop in Berkeley just starting carrying new books (from AK press) and still has its used bookstore as well as zine shop and library running Sunday-Thursday, 6-9 p.m.

Please patronize distribution collectives in



our anarchist community when purchasing radical literature. A lot of folks have invested time and energy over the years to make these collectives work, and the pernicious omnipresence of chain bookstores threatens these collectives specifically and the future availability of radical literature in general.



# BREAST CANCER AND

by Callipe Silverspot

In July 1997, I was doing my monthly breast self-exam and I found a suspicious lump. I was 28 years old when I finally had the lump, which turned out to be breast cancer, surgically removed in January 1998. In October 1999 I was diagnosed with a local reoccurrence of the breast cancer and in August 2000 the cancer metastasized to my bones. It took a long time to have the lump removed because I was so young that I had a hard time convincing doctors to diagnose the cancer. I had no risk factors for premenstrual breast cancer in my family. In fact, only 5-10 % of cases of breast cancer are purely hereditary, which leaves environmental factors, including lifestyle -- obesity, cigarette smoking, alcohol consumption and exposure to toxins, radiation and hormones -- as the cause of 90-95% of breast cancer cases. In 2000, one woman was diagnosed with breast cancer every three minutes.

Along with hereditary genes and exposure

every human activity which affects the environment. The precautionary principle is defined as follows: "When an activity raises threats of harm to human health or the environment, precautionary measures should be taken even if some cause and effect relationships are not fully established scientifically. In this context the proponent of an activity, rather than the public, should bear the burden of proof."

The precautionary principle is based on the first part of the Hippocratic Oath -- "do no harm." It is already applied to the drug approval process. For example, the U.S. Food & Drug Administration (FDA) didn't approve Thalidomide for use in the United States for pregnant women because of the precautionary principle. Its approval in other countries caused over 10,000 birth defects, although the risks were only "suspected" when these



## *What Corporations Don't*

cause specific cancers. It is difficult to prove a direct correlation between exposure to a chemical and a specific disease in humans because we are not controlled experiments, we move around too much and are continuously exposing ourselves, either knowingly or unknowingly, to hazardous chemicals. Corporations use the inconclusiveness of scientific research to avoid regulation, and government conservatives to take no action while their palms are being greased. While not every chemical is dangerous, the burden should be on chemical companies to prove their products are safe.

Often, corporations control both the scientific research process and the regulatory process over their own products. They control the media which defines for us what "healthy" is. And they produce cancer drug treatments as well as carcinogenic pesticides. Both our political-economic structure and health care system are focused on profit instead of people. These structures focus on the treatment of disease, a huge industry, rather than prevention of disease, which might hurt business. They fail to keep dangerous toxins from entering our environment and bodies in the first place.

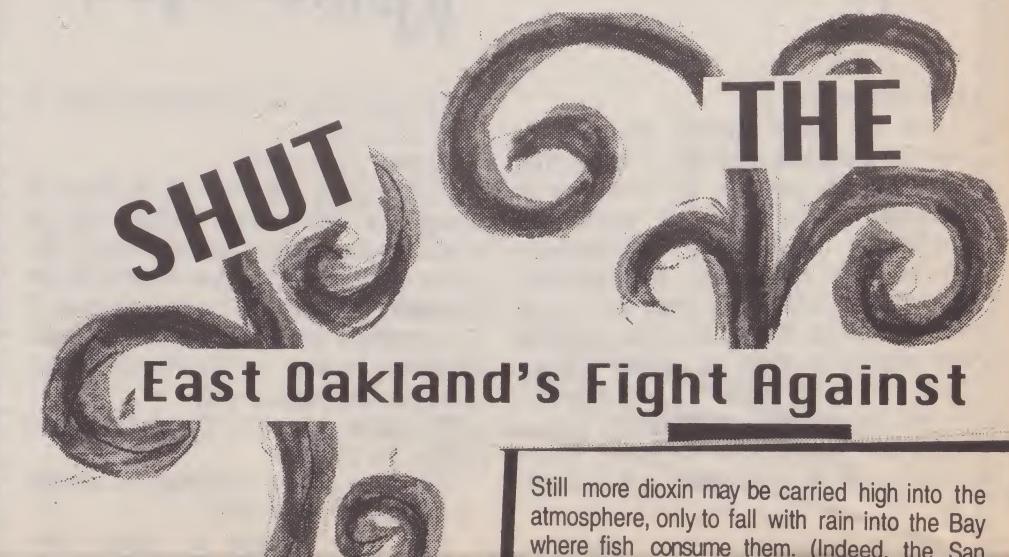
***"My cancer... was caused by a political and economic system which values profits over our health, our right to know, and our lives"***

to agricultural chemicals and organochlorides (chemicals containing chloride), breast cancer has been linked to everything from wearing bras with under wire to an affluent lifestyle with a high fat diet. However, it is no coincidence that the rate of breast cancer has increased by 1% per year since 1940 and during the same period the production of synthetic chemicals has increased 350 times from 1940 to 1982. California uses 25% of the nation's pesticides and between 1991 and 1999, the use of carcinogenic pesticides

other countries approved its use.

For the past 10 years there have been efforts to extend the precautionary principle from food and drug regulations to environmental regulations. Unfortunately, as can be seen by the WTO's successful overturn of Europe's ban on hormone-treated beef, we have a long haul ahead.

Opposition to extending the precautionary principle comes, not surprisingly, from the chemical industry, which does not want to be



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I'm convinced that my cancer and the cancer of millions of other people are caused by a political and economic system which value profits over our health, our right to know and our lives.

Because I do not have any of the hereditary and lifestyle factors associated with cancer, when I was diagnosed with breast cancer and

**"I am being treated with drugs manufactured by corporations which also make agricultural products that are suspected carcinogens and endocrine disrupters."**

asked "why me?" the only reason I came up with was my exposure to environmental toxins as a child and teenager. As a lifeguard of an indoor swimming pool when I was 18, I was exposed

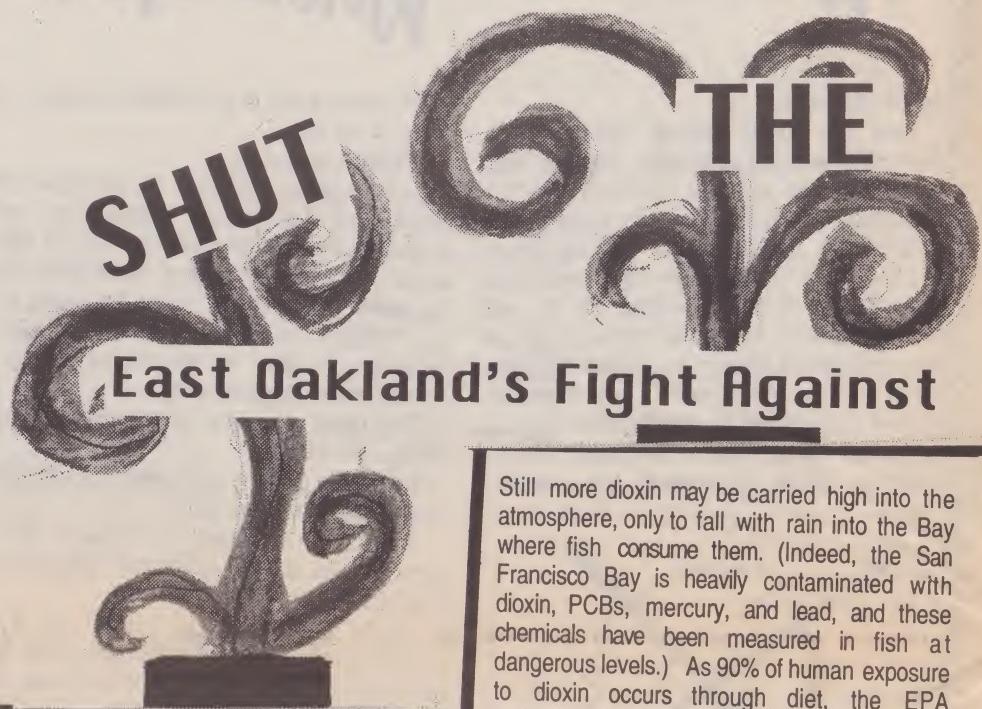
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Opposition to extending the precautionary principle comes, not surprisingly, from the chemical industry, which does not want to be responsible for the "burden of proof." Jack Mongoven of the public relations firm Mongoven, Biscoe and Duchin has advised the chemical industry to "mobilize science against the precautionary principle," saying the precautionary principle "threatens the entire chemical industry." Dr. Elizabeth M. Whelan, Director of the American Council on Science and Health -- an organization "defending the achievements and benefits of responsible technology within America's free-enterprise system" -- claims "advocates have recommended discarding a useful form of technology, for example pesticides or

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By jeremy and sara

53 of California's 54 known toxic waste disposal sites are located in low income communities of color. Nationally, 3 of every 5 African American and Latino people live in neighborhoods that contain uncontrolled toxic waste sites. Toxic fires burn in San Francisco's Bayview/Hunter's Point, toxic explosions expose Richmond neighborhoods to noxious fumes, and industrial dumping in the South Bay has rendered the water a stagnant pool of chemical waste. The environmental degradation and health risks disproportionately fall on the shoulders of low-income people and people of color who inhabit these areas.

One particularly egregious and blatant local case of environmental racism is the medical waste incinerator in the Fruitvale area of East

Still more dioxin may be carried high into the atmosphere, only to fall with rain into the Bay where fish consume them. (Indeed, the San Francisco Bay is heavily contaminated with dioxin, PCBs, mercury, and lead, and these chemicals have been measured in fish at dangerous levels.) As 90% of human exposure to dioxin occurs through diet, the EPA estimates that eating just a quarter pound of San Francisco Bay fish daily causes cancer risks to increase to a level of nearly one in 1,000. Many Bay Area immigrants and low-income individuals rely on fishing as a free protein supplement to their diet. As their access to fresh, high quality foods are already limited by income, this slow poisoning through what was a free nutrition supplement is just one aspect of the environmental racism of the incinerator.

When people eat contaminated vegetables and fish, they absorb the dioxin into their bodies. Dioxin bioaccumulates in fat cells which absorb the dioxin and transport it to their nuclei, where the chemical bonds to the cells' DNA and alters the expression of their genes. As the EPA and its 5,000 studies of dioxin have shown, people who absorb even minute amounts of dioxin over time develop

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## **"I am being treated with drugs manufactured by corporations which also make agricultural products that are suspected carcinogens and endocrine disrupters."**

asked "why me?" the only reason I came up with was my exposure to environmental toxins as a child and teenager. As a lifeguard of an indoor swimming pool when I was 16, I spent so much time exposed to chlorine I no longer was able to smell it. A fireman at the time told me that meant I was probably beginning to experience brain damage from exposure. Chlorine is considered highly toxic and organochlorides can function as estrogen-mimickers which also disrupt hormone function in humans and animals.

I grew up in Southern California, where malathion was sprayed in the suburbs as well as agricultural areas to prevent the spread of the Mediterranean fly. While residents were informed that malathion was being sprayed in their neighborhoods, they only knew when this would happen by the sound of the approaching helicopter. City ordinances prohibiting the spraying were ignored by the state primarily because the agriculture industry is the most powerful lobby in California. Malathion is also a "suspected" (as defined by Federal regulations) endocrine disrupter, similar to DDT and dioxin, which disrupts hormone function in humans and wildlife.

I had to be diagnosed with breast cancer before I felt the urgency to find out this information, but I don't believe we should wait before we take stronger action, including pushing governing bodies to enforce the "precautionary principle" with respect to

pharmaceuticals, even if there is just a hint of a problem. For example, there are those who have recommended that a basic, health-enhancing chemical like chlorine be banned because of questionable adverse effects on wildlife."

In 1978 Israel banned three organochloride pesticides detected in milk and other dairy products which caused 12 types of cancer in 10 different strains of rats and mice. After the ban, breast cancer rates which had increased every year for 25 years, dropped nearly 8% for all age groups and more than a third for women ages 25 to 34 by 1986. The American Cancer Society (ACS), an organization supposedly established to eliminate cancer, sided with the Chlorine Institute and issued a joint statement against a proposed 1992 international phase out of the roughly 15,000 chlorinated compounds in use. Members of the pharmaceutical and chemical industry have sat on the board of ACS, and since 1982, ACS has insisted on unequivocal proof that a substance causes cancer in humans before taking a position on the substance's public health hazards.

There is no conclusive research proving that specific chemicals in the environment directly

DIOXIN



By jeremy and sara

53 of California's 54 known toxic waste disposal sites are located in low income communities of color. Nationally, 3 of every 5 African American and Latino people live in neighborhoods that contain uncontrolled toxic waste sites. Toxic fires burn in San Francisco's Bayview/Hunter's Point, toxic explosions expose Richmond neighborhoods to noxious fumes, and industrial dumping in the South Bay has rendered the water a stagnant pool of chemical waste. The environmental degradation and health risks disproportionately fall on the shoulders of low-income people and people of color who inhabit these areas.

One particularly egregious and blatant local case of environmental racism is the medical waste incinerator in the Fruitvale area of East Oakland, operated by Integrated Environmental Services (IES), located at 499 High Street in Fruitvale. It is the only medical disposal facility left in California that uses the incineration process, continuously spewing noxious waste products into the air, soil, and water. One such waste product, the most carcinogenic chemical known to science, dioxin, is released into the surrounding low-income and predominantly Black and Latino community as a byproduct of its outdated incineration process. Experts say that just one ounce of dioxin, about the size of an M & M, would be enough to give a million people cancer.

The process is simple. Medical institutions, like Alta Bates Hospital for example, send their medical waste (diapers, IV bags, syringes) to IES for disposal. Materials made of PVC plastic (mainly syringes) contain chlorine, which, when incinerated, releases dioxin. The IES facility uses ovens that burn materials at temperatures approaching 10,000 degrees. At this temperature, the chlorine from the plastic reacts with carbon to create molecules of dioxin. The dioxin leaves the compound, carried by the smoke, and enters the surrounding community as particulate matter.

A few dioxin molecules may settle in a local garden where a family harvests vegetables.

(dioxin is found in the environment at dangerous levels.) As 90% of human exposure to dioxin occurs through diet, the EPA estimates that eating just a quarter pound of San Francisco Bay fish daily causes cancer risks to increase to a level of nearly one in 1,000. Many Bay Area immigrants and low-income individuals rely on fishing as a free protein supplement to their diet. As their access to fresh, high quality foods are already limited by income, this slow poisoning through what was a free nutrition supplement is just one aspect of the environmental racism of the incinerator.

When people eat contaminated vegetables and fish, they absorb the dioxin into their bodies. Dioxin bioaccumulates in fat cells which absorb the dioxin and transport it to their nuclei, where the chemical bonds to the cells' DNA and alters the expression of their genes. As the EPA and its 5,000 studies of dioxin have shown, people who absorb even minute amounts of dioxin tend to develop cancer.

**"Contamination...disproportionately impacts low-income people of color because of the incinerator's location."**

Other health problems associated with the dioxin exposure include birth defects, endometriosis, decreased testicle size, decreased sperm count, decreased brain size, developmental delay in children, and learning disabilities. Once dioxin enters the ecosystem, even by falling on grass where cattle graze in the central valley, it magnifies up the food chain. Thus the very top of the food chain, the breast feeding baby, is getting the largest dose of dioxin possible.

The process described disproportionately impacts low-income, people of color because of the medical incinerator's location. In fact, according to scientists at Communities for a Better Environment, ninety percent of the census tracts that the incinerator smoke blows over are populated by lower income, people of color. Not coincidentally, breast cancer rates in the African American community in Oakland

# ENVIRONMENTAL TOXINS

## Want You To Know



I find it more than ironic that I am being treated with drugs, manufactured by corporations which also make agricultural products that are suspected carcinogens and hormone disrupters. It is amazing that for my treatment, medical products made from PVC plastic are used, which when incinerated in East Oakland will pollute the environment with dioxins — hormone disrupters that can cause cancer. It is insulting that I am then told every October for "Breast Cancer Awareness Month," which is funded by the aforementioned drug and pesticide producing and incinerating companies, that "early detection is the best protection." Breast Cancer Awareness Month

encourages women to use techniques and treatments owned by the same corporations!

I want to give a few examples of what we are up against because I often feel completely overwhelmed by the incestuousness of the government and business interest which are both treating and poisoning me.

The EPA recently declared dioxin to be a "known" human carcinogen. Yet, as Robert K. Musil, Ph.D, Executive Director of Physician for Social Responsibility (PSR) states, "industries flooding our environment with dioxin have denied its dangers while this report has been held up for nine years." Sure enough, as soon as news of the EPA's change to

the listing was leaked, New York restaurant owners and a medical device maker filed suit in federal court to overturn the finding, arguing they would suffer economic harm from the announcement, because people would avoid dioxin containing products such as plastic bag and food containers made from PVC, medical products such as plastic tubing and IV bags which release dioxins when incinerated, and foods such as meat and dairy. Dioxin is found in some herbicides and pesticides, but Health Care Without Harm (HCWH), a collaborative campaign of over 250 organizations for environmentally responsible health care, states that health care practices, especially medical waste incineration, are a leading source of dioxin and mercury emissions. Patients, such as myself, have urged my hospital, Alta Bates in Berkeley, to work with HCWH, so far to no avail.

Astra-Zeneca is the world's third-largest drug concern, valued at \$67 billion, and

believe action is an antidote for despair and I therefore have some suggestions. I specifically want to move beyond "the Race for the Cure" and focus on preventing cancer in future generations, taking Rachel Carson's words, which she wrote in *Silent Spring* while dying of breast cancer: "It is a disservice to humanity to hold out the hope that the solution will come suddenly, in a single master stroke."

**Call things by their real names.** Breast Cancer Action is urging other cities to follow the lead of San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley to declare October "Stop Cancer Where It Starts Month," acknowledging the impact of toxins in the environment and working to reduce them, on the grounds that we are already "aware" and do not need the breast cancer industry's "National Breast Cancer Awareness Month." Toxic Links has taken this a step further in attempting to declare October "Cancer Industry Awareness Month." They had a "Cancer Industry Tour" of San Francisco, which included street theater.

**Use alternative methods to educate the public.** Web sites, such as

**"The precautionary principle states that...the proponent of an activity, rather than the public, should bear the burden of proof."**

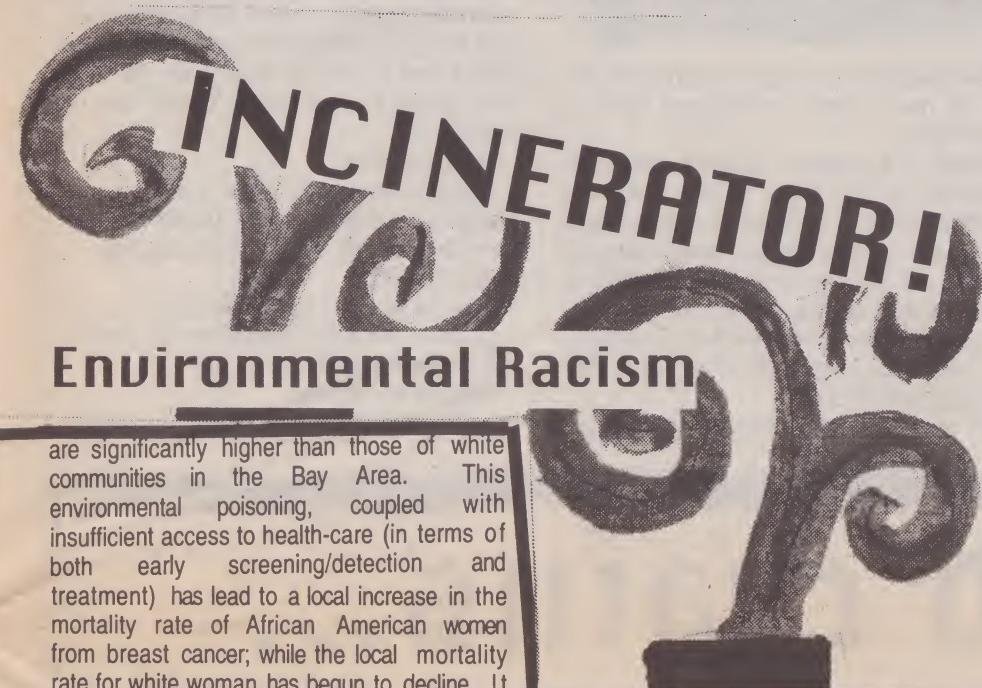
manufactures tamoxifin, a successful breast cancer treatment. They provide me with my monthly dose of tamoxifin for free, which would otherwise cost me over \$150, because my health insurance does not cover prescriptions. When Astra-Zeneca created "Breast Cancer Awareness Month" (BCAM) for October 1985 they were owned by Imperial Chemical Industries, a multibillion-dollar producer of pesticides, paper and plastics, a

## Environmental Racism

are significantly higher than those of white communities in the Bay Area. This environmental poisoning, coupled with insufficient access to health-care (in terms of

[www.50polluters.org](http://www.50polluters.org) -- which ranks top Bay Area polluters, locates them on a map and was originally an interactive art installation -- and [www.artactivist.com](http://www.artactivist.com) and Art and Revolution are examples of creative, direct action efforts to educate. On March 26 PBS will air "Trade Secrets," a Bill Moyers investigative report on how industries have put our health and safety at risk. A coalition of groups are launching Coming Clean, a project aimed at cleaning

Month," which is funded by the aforementioned drug and pesticide producing and incinerating companies, that "early detection is the best protection." Breast Cancer Awareness Month



are significantly higher than those of white communities in the Bay Area. This environmental poisoning, coupled with insufficient access to health-care (in terms of both early screening/detection and treatment) has lead to a local increase in the mortality rate of African American women from breast cancer; while the local mortality rate for white woman has begun to decline. It is hard to construe this as anything other than blatant environmental racism.

IES does have other options in terms of medical waste disposal. There are two available technologies that do not send toxic chemicals into surrounding neighborhoods. One is called autoclaving, in which hazardous materials are sterilized essentially through pressure cooking. The other is microwave technology, which is also far cleaner than incineration. IES currently treats only 10% of its incoming waste with its microwave facility. For years community groups have been pushing for the expansion of IES' microwaving facility and the elimination of its incineration capacity altogether, but to no avail. Responding to community pressure, Stanford Hospital and Alta Bates Hospital no longer send their

"The more people fall ill, the more money corporations running the hospitals make."

contradiction in purpose is evident, a conflict of interest certainly is not; the more people fall ill, the more money the corporations running the hospitals make. There is no way to reconcile this issue until there is free healthcare for all.

Thus far the board of IES has ignored the demands of the Oakland community groups mobilized to protect the health of local residents. Currently, the medical incinerator faces potential denial of a permit renewal from the Bay Area Air Quality Management District. The permit is required for operation and is issued if the facility is in compliance with the Title V Clean Air Act. The US EPA has recommended that instead of a permit denial, the Air District should impose an Order of Abatement which triggers a series of administrative meetings wherein IES explains to the Air District what steps they will take to bring the incinerators into Title V compliance. IES has been given enough second chances and the ongoing pollution violations have been systematically ignored by the state. Local groups like PUEBLO (People United for a Better Oakland), Center for Environmental Health, Greenaction for Health and

Medical Waste to IES

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**"I realize the extent of destruction of both the planet and my body...I also believe action is the antidote for despair."**

during Breast Cancer Awareness Month in October you will be hard pressed to hear messages about real prevention -- eradicating environmental toxins -- and will hear more about the magic bullet that makes Astra-Zeneca money.

The federally funded National Cancer Institute's focuses on "prevention research" such as magic bullets like tamoxifin. It is no coincidence that NCI's senior executives work for pharmaceutical and chemical industries.

breast cancer industry's "National Breast Cancer Awareness Month." Toxic Links has taken this a step further in attempting to declare October "Cancer Industry Awareness Month." They had a "Cancer Industry Tour" of San Francisco, which included street theater.

Use alternative methods to educate the public. Web sites, such as

[www.50polluters.org](http://www.50polluters.org) -- which ranks top Bay Area polluters, locates them on a map and was originally an interactive art installation -- and [www.artactivist.com](http://www.artactivist.com) and Art and Revolution are examples of creative, direct action efforts to educate. On March 26 PBS will air "Trade Secrets," a Bill Moyers investigative report on how industries have put our health and safety at risk. A coalition of groups are launching Coming Clean, a project aimed at cleaning up the chemical industry, which will work with groups across the country to organize local "Trade Secrets" viewing events. Growers, farm workers and citizens have the right to know associated hazards in all ingredients and Pesticide Action Network (PAN) urges the EPA to require pesticide manufacturers to fully disclose any adverse health or environmental impacts on their product labels. We also need to access this information easily and PAN's database of chemicals, accessible

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I BELIEVE WE  
HAVE UNDENIABLY VALID  
GROUNDS FOR A REVOLUTIONARY  
ACTION.



from breast cancer; while the local mortality rate for white woman has begun to decline. It is hard to construe this as anything other than blatant environmental racism.

IES does have other options in terms of medical waste disposal. There are two available technologies that do not send toxic chemicals into surrounding neighborhoods. One is called autoclaving, in which hazardous materials are sterilized essentially through pressure cooking. The other is microwave technology, which is also far cleaner than incineration. IES currently treats only 10% of its incoming waste with its microwave facility. For years community groups have been pushing for the expansion of IES' microwaving facility and the elimination of its incineration capacity altogether, but to no avail. Responding to community pressure, Stanford Hospital and Alta Bates Hospital no longer send their

**"The more people fall ill, the more money corporations running the hospitals make."**

medical waste to IES.

Besides alternative disposal methods, the suppliers of the waste materials, hospitals, clinics, and research facilities must reduce the amount of waste they send to IES, particularly plastics. The adoption of reusable equipment, though more expensive due to higher quality materials and the added cost of sterilization and storage between use, would reduce waste immensely. Furthermore, the less PVC products are being used, the less potential there is for dioxin to be released into the environment. Unfortunately, as health insurance companies override the mission of providing health care for the bottom line of money, and hospitals increasingly are being privatized and run like a for-profit business, it is unlikely that they will adopt any changes unless these changes save them money. Ironically (or not) the healthcare industry, whose stated mission is to heal the sick, becomes an integral part of producing the poisons that make people sick. While a

contradiction in purpose is evident, a conflict of interest certainly is not; the more people fall ill, the more money the corporations running the hospitals make. There is no way to reconcile this issue until there is free healthcare for all.

Thus far the board of IES has ignored the demands of the Oakland community groups mobilized to protect the health of local residents. Currently, the medical incinerator faces potential denial of a permit renewal from the Bay Area Air Quality Management District. The permit is required for operation and is issued if the facility is in compliance with the Title V Clean Air Act. The US EPA has recommended that instead of a permit denial, the Air District should impose an Order of Abatement which triggers a series of administrative meetings wherein IES explains to the Air District what steps they will take to bring the incinerators into Title V compliance. IES has been given enough second chances and the ongoing pollution violations have been systematically ignored by the state. Local groups like PUEBLO (People United for a Better Oakland), Center for Environmental Health, Greenaction for Health and Environmental Justice, Women's Cancer Resource Center, Students Organizing for Justice in the Americas, and many others have formed a coalition to expose this clearly racist operation and the state's complicity in supporting it. These groups are building pressure on IES, Oakland City Council, the Air Quality District, and clients of the incinerator to stop incineration and the poisoning of the plants, animals, and people of the Oakland community. At one recent protest of over a hundred people, police baricaded streets for blocks around the area while activists chained and locked the incinerator's front

gates, chanting, "If the government won't, the people will shut the incinerator!"

For more information, contact the following groups: [www.greenaction.org](http://www.greenaction.org) [www.cehca.org](http://www.cehca.org) (center for environmental health) [www.peopleunited.org](http://www.peopleunited.org) (pueblo - people united for a better oakland)

Angeles and Long Beach Harbors, near beaches where I spent every summer swimming as a child. Astra-Zeneca also manufactures fungicides and herbicides, including the carcinogen acetochlor; owns the third-largest source of cancer-causing pollution in the U.S., a chemical plant in Perry, Ohio which released 53,000 pounds of recognized carcinogens into the air in 1996; holds a controlling interest in Salick Health Care Cancer Centers; and recommends use of tamoxifin for "risk reduction" in healthy women at high risk of developing breast cancer. It is no wonder that

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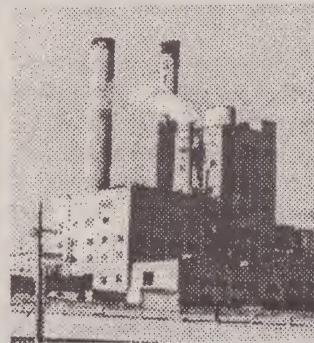
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The federally funded National Cancer Institute's focuses on "prevention research" such as magic bullets like tamoxifin. It is no coincidence that NCI's senior executives work for pharmaceutical and chemical industries. For example, in 1990 the chairman of its advisory panel was Armand Hammer, who was also chairman of Occidental Petroleum. Occidental was responsible for the infamous toxic dump in New York, Love Canal.

When I realize the extent of destruction of both the planet and my body, and how deep lies the corruption of the government and industry, I wonder whether or not my actions as an individual are futile. However, I also



**MERCURY**



My

Ecuador

Experience

by Kerry Berry

Massive protest against dollarization led to the resignation of the Ecuadorian president a year ago. Under pressure from the US, the Ecuadorian government has nonetheless continued with dollarization and IMF structural adjustment policies, casting vast segments of the population into dire poverty. In the face of drastic transportation and fuel price hikes and increasing Ecuadorian involvement in Plan Colombia, another massive uprising by the indigenous people this February caused the government to scale back the most recent round of structural adjustments. The following are some observations from a Slingshot associate in Ecuador.

Dollars, oil spills and an indigenous uprising. There's always something of interest here in Ecuador. In the month since I arrived, I have learned a lot about the power of protest and the power of the media to distort what is happening.

The media portrayed the indigenous uprising, that resulted in road blockades and the imposition of a state of emergency, as a response to rising prices. While this is certainly a concern, people were really fighting against the IMF-imposed policies that are threatening their way of life. In addition, the US military is setting up in Ecuador what is to be its largest base in South America, for the purpose of waging war on Colombia. The creation of the base is almost certain to bring the war to Ecuador as well.

The "drug" war on Colombia at its root is a war for oil, some of which is on Ecuadorian soil.

The extraction of oil in Ecuador for corporations such as Texaco has done tremendous environmental harm to traditional lands and has displaced many indigenous peoples. These multinational corporations extract what they want for outrageous profits and give nothing back, leaving a toxic wasteland behind.

Around 6,000 indigenous people marched from their pueblos to Quito, the capital, to protest. They could not afford to survive with the rising prices of food and cooking fuel, the devaluation of their labor since the dollarization of their economy a year ago, and brutal "structural adjustment" and resource extraction loan conditions on their country's debt.

Indigenous communities blocked highways for two weeks, not allowing any food to enter or leave Quito. They burned tires as blockades and tore up roads. The indigenas occupied a university where they were repeatedly bombarded with tear gas when they tried to leave. In some instances, police opened fire on protesters, injuring scores of people and killing four.

Finally, points were agreed on between the protesters and the government, including the lowering of fuel prices and bus prices, compensation for the families of those who were killed and injured, the goal of not sacrificing the environment to pay off the debt, and a weak commitment to keep the war from coming to Ecuador. There is little assurance that these agreements will be kept. A similar situation took place here with the protests a year ago, but in the end, under US pressure, last year's agreements were not kept, as is typical



of the treatment of indigenous people by the US. For now, at least, the indigenas have returned home.

Overall, the people of Ecuador have been supportive of the plight of the indigenas. However, there is rampant institutionalized racism and classism against them, which assists the IMF/WB and US military interests in dividing and conquering. It seems so clear that the same process of repression and exploitation is underway everywhere. This is what they mean by "globalization".

It's also clear that automobiles and oil are

very much at the heart of this. I was so sad when just recently the Galápagos Islands, a part of Ecuador so rich with unspoiled life and famous for Darwin's developing his theory of evolution, were hit with an oil spill. Walking around Quito, like in most "third world countries", automobile traffic is essentially unregulated, and there is no respect for pedestrians and bicyclists. The pollution is so terrible I am trying to get a gas mask. While my fellow travelers worry about thieves and parasites, crossing the street is my biggest fear as I go to my English teaching job on foot. This is what we make war for? To secure oil and make war on our own neighborhoods? All at the expense of the balance and fabric of life that has existed for millennia and may be irreplaceable, from the indigenous cultures to the ecosystem itself. I was heartened to hear that there is one group in Ecuador, Acción Ecológica, a "radical" environmental group, which has reportedly organized critical mass rides in the past, though I haven't seen them. When I see a bicycle here it fills my heart with joy. And there is still so much natural beauty here to protect.

Some resources:

Project Underground, Carwil James, Oil Campaign Coordinator, 510-705-8981, carwil@moles.org, <http://www.moles.org/>

Acción Ecológica, <http://www.ecuanex.apc.org/accion/>  
CONAIE, one of the main indigenous groups, <http://www.conaie.org/>  
Reclaim the Streets, [http://xinet.com/rts/past\\_actions/ecuador/](http://xinet.com/rts/past_actions/ecuador/)

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# Whips and chains... Kinky Sex for the Revolution

by blake and xxxarick

What is the weirdest sexual thing you have ever done? Think of something more bizarre. That is kink - stretching the boundaries of sex, refining sexual experiences to fit your individual taste, the inner cravings of your soul.

Not only is sexual exploration fun, it is a revolutionary tool as well. The honesty, trust, and creativity involved in kinky play are the same qualities underlying effective affinity groups, general communication, and revolutionary society as a whole.

Kink means being open to potentially threatening concepts, changing your mind, challenging your programming. Being unashamedly aroused is inherently related to being passionately, unabashedly revolutionary. Kink means not compromising your desires because they are contrary to the status quo, and instead flaunting, celebrating, and reveling

explored, not feared.

Say, for example, that somebody gets off on being dragged down an alley, beaten up, and pissed on. This person should not be expected to relinquish their desires just because their fantasy does not appear to reflect the love and respect that would anchor a revolutionary society. Sick and twisted desires can be fulfilled in ways that are safe and consensual. Fulfilling somebody's innermost desire is an act of love and subverts the dominant paradigm.

Issues of trust surface when two people engage in a kinky act. Nobody besides yourself can know your desires and fantasies unless you

for you at that particular time.

Kink is also a good way to work on communication. Self-understanding and honest communication can assist in the choice of play partners as well, many times eliminating "playing" with someone unless they are



are within a radical community, then where?

Contrary to what mainstream culture says, sex is fluid and chaotic, like life. Kink is an excellent way to explore natural spontaneity. We use more areas of our bodies and brains if we actively engage in rigid AND fluid activities. As we work together to build a society that meets each individual's needs, sexual exploration must happen simultaneously to do-it-yourself mechanical work, radio building or plumbing. Own your desires. Do not be afraid of them! Find ways to express them that you are okay with!

A few notes on Safety:

\*A safe word can be used when either person feels threatened or uninterested in continuing to "play."

\*Safer sex materials such as gloves can be fetishized. Practice safer sex; STDs suck!

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Absolute morality about sex is counterproductive to everything the sexual revolution, wyrmmons movement, disability movement, etc has done to open humanity's views about the mind/body. Different bodies and minds reach sexual satisfaction through equally diverse activities. Rigid opinions about sex and desire silence kink and make potential perverts into introverts. Desires, no matter how bizarre-seeming, must be respected and

explored, not feared.

Say, for example, that somebody gets off on being dragged down an alley, beaten up, and pissed on. This person should not be expected to relinquish their desires just because their fantasy does not appear to reflect the love and respect that would anchor a revolutionary society. Sick and twisted desires can be fulfilled in ways that are safe and consensual. Fulfilling somebody's innermost desire is an act of love and subverts the dominant paradigm.

Issues of trust surface when two people engage in a kinky act. Nobody besides yourself can know your desires and fantasies unless you



share them. Kinky people must be direct and honest about their desires because experiencing the sensations of, for example, play piercing needles in the back may be exciting for one person but intrusive for another. Also, people must own their desires and not take it personally if the person they want to play with does not share similar fantasies.

Sexual exploration can be a good way to explore all parts of our person. One must truly trust/know oneself to explore the world of kink, and kink is an excellent way to learn about yourself. Kink can help you overcome your shit. When self-trust exists, the most intense exploration should not be a threat; you trust yourself to sense and respect what is too much



for you at that particular time.

Kink is also a good way to work on communication. Self-understanding and honest communication can assist in the choice of play partners as well, many times eliminating "playing" with someone unless they are



compatible. Kink also has the potential to get people relating on different, unexpected levels. (Of course some of us know these levels are a bit tricky, but we'll never be on our death beds wishin' we'd of takin' more risks.)

Being a radical is about challenging stereotypes and traditional definitions. We must break down the oppressive social constructs surrounding gender, absolute morality, perversion, punishment, politeness, beauty, pleasure/pain, right/wrong, good/bad. We must counter these stereotypes actively in our homes and communities because kink/genderqueer/pansexuality/perversion is still extremely marginalized, even within 'radical' communities. If we can't be who we

are within a radical community, then where?

Contrary to what mainstream culture says, sex is fluid and chaotic, like life. Kink is an excellent way to explore natural spontaneity. We use more areas of our bodies and brains if we actively engage in rigid AND fluid activities. As we work together to build a society that meets each individual's needs, sexual exploration must happen simultaneously to do-it-yourself mechanical work, radio building or plumbing. Own your desires. Do not be afraid of them! Find ways to express them that you are okay with!

A few notes on Safety:

\*A safe word can be used when either person feels threatened or uninterested in continuing to "play."

\*Safer sex materials such as gloves can be fetishized. Practice safer sex; STDs suck!

\*Doing extreme sex acts when you're fucked up on drugs or alcohol can scathe you in negative ways, because you're less sensitive to pain thresholds.

Some good resources:

\*Screw the Roses, Send Me the Thorns

\*KinkyCrafts, 99 Do-It-Yourself S/M Toys for the Kinky Handyperson, by Lady Green with James Easton



# P A L E S T I N E

By James LaForêt

In the closing weeks of the Clinton administration, as US officials worked frantically behind the scenes to secure a peace accord as part of Clinton's "legacy", renewed violence broke out in the occupied territories of Palestine, spilling over in the state of Israel itself. For a few days, with the Clinton administration unsure of how to respond to this crisis, and corporate news managers left temporary without clear ideological guidance, viewers of US propaganda channels such as CNN were treated to typically uninsightful but unusually neutral or even slightly favorable coverage of the Palestinian side. This of course soon changed, as the US administration made its position clear: we support Israel. The error was understandable: with the peace process and all its hand-shaking and smiling, it would at least be plausible to assume that the Palestinians could be okay, and now their children were being killed by Israeli soldiers, which does look like they are being, well, at least slightly mistreated.

But US strategic and economic interests demand otherwise. The modern politics of the Middle East are largely reducible to the region's dubious fortune of having the world's largest known concentration of oil reserves. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War, the region came under the control of the British Empire, which after being weakened in the Second World War, was replaced by the United States—the new imperial hegemon of the "free" (capitalist) world. The US largely followed the control strategies developed and deployed by its British predecessor: contain the Arabs by leveraging non-Arab states against them, control the Arabs internally by supporting corrupt, despotic rulers.

The non-Arab states thus employed included Turkey, Pakistan and Iran, the latter having been taken off the list of close allies and recategorized as a rogue terrorist state after the Shah, a despotic pro-US ruler, was over-



the imperialist geostrategic objectives of the US military-corporate complex in the region to go largely unchallenged.

The peace process so vigorously pursued by Clinton was but the latest scheme in this larger imperial design. Perhaps Clinton was enamored with this ill-conceived scheme out of concern for his all-important legacy (post-White House marketability), a concern shared for not too dissimilar reasons by former Israeli prime minister Barak and Palestinian chief Yasser Arafat.

Barak's political career was on the line, and for now has ended with his announcement of resignation, submitted just a few days after his agreement to serve as Defense Minister under Sharon met with outrage from Barak's Labor party. Arafat's position, while sufficiently strong to allow him to survive the collapse of the "peace process", has nonetheless been somewhat weakened and has forced him to give ground to hard-line Palestinian factions such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which favor armed conflict with the "Zionist entity".

Under the existing regime, Arafat and his cronies have enjoyed near total control of the

for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington think tank, recommended the use of "excessive force" against Palestinian civilians, as well as "interrogation methods bordering on psychological and/or physical torture" as a means of enforcing the peace process.

But the scheme failed to take root. The Palestinian people had simply suffered too many depredations and humiliations to accept what was laid out before them. Unfortunately, their leaders could not come up with any better solutions, beyond various bids to prop up their own power.

A former commando and adherent of right-wing revisionist Zionism, Sharon is clear in his sentiments: the Arabs are the enemy.

As Barak repeatedly emphasized in the wake of this most recent intifada uprising, "they have never been offered so much". Barak was right—Israel did indeed make many compromises, at least compared to its usual policy of no-compromise, no-holds-barred aggression and repression.

Unfortunately, just turning up the rhetoric against Israel will probably suffice to bolster Arafat's credibility and keep him in power.

The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that this region, Palestine, is a center of several intolerant religions, and it is all too easy for the region's rulers or would-be rulers to play the religious hatred card for all it's worth.

The Palestinians want their own state, or so we are told. Perhaps it is because they have been told that's all they can get, all they can hope for as a means of relieving their real suffering. But in this violent region especially, states have a way of only fanning the flames of war, of bringing suffering and repression to their people.

In the state system, the biggest and most violent state rules. Today, that state is the United States of America, whose imperialist policies have defined the political landscape of the Middle East to be one of violent repression, for that is the only way it knew to ensure that its corporations would have access to the oil resources whose frantic exploitation is choking the planet. To have access and thereby deny others access: that is the golden rule of the state system of power. Or the corporate system of power, for that matter—they are but two sides of the same coin.

Zionism was in its inception a socialist movement. The Jewish state was to be founded upon the Zionist maxim of "a land without a



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The non-Arab states thus employed included Turkey, Pakistan and Iran, the latter having been taken off the list of close allies and recategorized as a rogue terrorist state after the Shah, a despotic pro-US ruler, was overthrown in 1979.



The task set forth for Arafat was clear: the Palestinian people were to be repressed and subordinated to US-Israeli interests by whatever means necessary.

A major new element was tossed into the politics of the region when in 1948, a group of European Jewish terrorists (that's what they were called back then) succeeded in establishing a colonial regime in what used to be British Palestine. They were more or less supported by Britain in their efforts, but weren't satisfied with "more or less", and insisted on more (that's why some of them were branded terrorists). They proceeded to enlarge and reinforce their position with equal zeal, expelling the native inhabitants of the land in droves, destroying entire villages, fighting effectively

or largely unchallenged.

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Under the existing regime, Arafat and his cronies have enjoyed near total control of the Palestinian economy, including monopoly control of all the key profitable commodity markets and exclusive deals for resale of Israeli corporate products to the Palestinian population.

The fact that Arafat has been installed into his current sinecure as chief of the Palestinian Authority largely by decision and in the interests of the Israeli military and business elite threatens Arafat's credibility with the Palestinian people, thus prompting him to at least rhetorically adopt a somewhat "militant" posture in relation to his Israeli colonial backers. So far, with the major Arab powers, particularly the largest one—Egypt, refusing to back

to Arafat in a military option, the Palestinian Authority remains militarily impotent. The Egyptian government is of course the largest recipient of US foreign aid—with the notable exception of Israel—and would be loathe to lose that money by crossing its North American paymaster.

The peace process promoted by the United States would give the Palestinians exactly what the US and Israeli ruling classes wanted them to have. The maps of the proposed Palestinian entity present the classic picture of Bantustanization: a series of hundreds of dis-

persed enclaves of Palestinian citizens surrounded by Israeli settlements, with no viable infrastructure or economy, subject to excessive force against dissident citizens, as well as "interrogation methods bordering on psychological and/or physical torture" as a means of enforcing the peace process.

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A man who embodies that no-compromise approach is the newly elected prime minister, Ariel Sharon. A former commando and adherent of right-wing revisionist Zionism, Sharon is clear in his sentiments: the Arabs are the enemy. Historically, Sharon has been deployed as a sort of "rogue commander". His hawkishness and over-the-top zeal provided a cover of plausible deniability in cases where the Israeli government felt it needed to take drastic and internationally unpopular measures to enforce its power.

When Sharon led a raid in which Arab women and children were massacred in 1953, the "liberal" Eshkol regime censured him, but took no action. In the wake of the 1982 massacre of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatilla camps in Southern Lebanon, for which Sharon was found to be personally responsible, he was dismissed from his post as Defense Minister. Now, following an election with a historically low voter turnout, the rogue is in charge.



Sorry NO GAS

the Middle East to be one of violent repression, for that is the only way it knew to ensure that its corporations would have access to the oil resources whose frantic exploitation is choking the planet. To have access and thereby deny others access: that is the golden rule of the state system of power. Or the corporate system of power, for that matter—they are but two sides of the same coin.

Zionism was in its inception a socialist movement. The Jewish state was to be founded upon the Zionist maxim of "a land without a



people for a people without a land". Failing to find a land which met such conditions, elements of the Zionist movement sought to create them. In the process, a different version of Zionism became dominant. "The Arabs only really came to Palestine after the Jewish settlement started, in order to spite the Jews and get in their way. All those refugees weren't exiled, they left just to make Israel look bad, or because the other Arab states told them to." Such is the talk of these revisionist Zionists. For them, there is no "Palestinian people"—it's all a hoax to thwart the Jews. "And plus, we were here first".

According to the Bible, the god Yahweh granted the land of Palestine to his people. Then too, the land was not empty. The god Yahweh was clear in his commandments: his people were to either exterminate or enslave the earlier inhabitants, according to their tribe. A kingdom was erected, stood not long, and fell. Now his people are back, and again doing what at least some of them believe to be their god's bidding. Some Talmudic scholars have been offering the more religious soldiers moral support: it is okay to kill Arab women and children, so long as it's done in such a way



and exclusive deals for resale of Israeli corporate products to the Palestinian population.

The fact that Arafat has been installed into his current sinecure as chief of the Palestinian Authority largely by decision and in the interests of the Israeli military and business elite threatens Arafat's credibility with the Palestinian people, thus prompting him to at least rhetorically adopt a somewhat "militant" posture in relation to his Israeli colonial backers. So far, with the major Arab powers, particularly the largest one—Egypt, refusing to back

The task set forth for Arafat was clear: the Palestinian people were to be repressed and subordinated to US-Israeli interests by whatever means necessary.

A major new element was tossed into the politics of the region when in 1948, a group of European Jewish terrorists (that's what they were called back then) succeeded in establishing a colonial regime in what used to be British Palestine. They were more or less supported by Britain in their efforts, but weren't satisfied with "more or less", and insisted on more (that's why some of them were branded terrorists). They proceeded to enlarge and reinforce their position with equal zeal, expelling the native inhabitants of the land in droves, destroying entire villages, fighting effectively against the surrounding Arab regimes who objected to this intrusion.

Their militant zeal was not unnoticed by the emerging imperial overlord of the region. US ruling circles appreciated the brutality and efficiency of Israeli methods, their straightforward willingness and ability to "get things done" (one individual notable since the time of the state's founding for his ability to "get things done" is Ariel Sharon, recently elected Prime Minister of Israel). Quickly, Israel became a "staunch ally" in the region. They also appreciated that the uncompromising methods employed by this new colonial regime would be unpopular: thus the support for Israel would likewise have to be uncompromising.

The US regime has been fortunate in that critics of its support for Israel have chosen to play the "anti-Semitic" card, explaining the support in terms of the influence of wealthy Jewish lobbyists and the like—thus allowing

Arafat in a military option, the Palestinian Authority remains militarily impotent. The Egyptian government is of course the largest recipient of US foreign aid—with the notable exception of Israel—and would be loathe to lose that money by crossing its North American paymaster.

The peace process promoted by the United States would give the Palestinians exactly what the US and Israeli ruling classes wanted them to have. The maps of the proposed Palestinian entity present the classic picture of Bantustanization: a series of hundreds of disconnected enclaves separated by Israeli access roads to which the Palestinians have no access. Key water resources would likewise remain under Israeli control. External borders would similarly be controlled by Israel.

Naturally, a hero of Palestinian resistance such as Arafat was needed in order to foist such a scheme upon the Palestinian people, to endow it with some fig leaf of authenticity. Implementation of the scheme was to be overseen by the CIA, who had agents deployed throughout the Palestinian Authority to monitor the situation on the ground and ensure compliance. At the height of the peace process negotiations, CIA director George Tenet took up residence in Israel.

The task set forth for Arafat was clear: the Palestinian people were to be repressed and subordinated to US-Israeli interests by whatever means necessary. A report on the Middle East situation recently issued by the Center

of right-wing revisionist Zionism, Sharon is clear in his sentiments: the Arabs are the enemy. Historically, Sharon has been deployed as a sort of "rogue commander". His hawkishness and over-the-top zeal provided a cover of plausible deniability in cases where the Israeli government felt it needed to take drastic and internationally unpopular measures to enforce its power.

When Sharon led a raid in which Arab women and children were massacred in 1953, the "liberal" Eshkol regime censured him, but took no action. In the wake of the 1982 massacre of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatilla camps in Southern Lebanon, for which Sharon was found to be personally responsible, he was dismissed from his post as Defense Minister. Now, following an election with a historically low voter turnout, the rogue is in charge.



The Washington regime, ever on the alert, has censured Israel (and the Palestinians, just to be fair), perhaps as a way of saying to Sharon that now, with the plausible deniability gone, he better follow the standard operating procedure for repression.

Along with the whole Arab world, the Palestinian Authority has issued statements expressing its displeasure: "Barak was bad, but Sharon is worse". For Arafat, Sharon is indeed worse, for he threatens to upset the facade behind which Arafat and his cronies have pursued their personal enrichment while the vast majority of Palestinian people languish in pov-



people for a people without a land". Failing to find a land which met such conditions, elements of the Zionist movement sought to create them. In the process, a different version of Zionism became dominant. "The Arabs only really came to Palestine after the Jewish settlement started, in order to spite the Jews and get in their way. All those refugees weren't exiled, they left just to make Israel look bad, or because the other Arab states told them to." Such is the talk of these revisionist Zionists. For them, there is no "Palestinian people"—it's all a hoax to thwart the Jews. "And plus, we were here first".

According to the Bible, the god Yahweh granted the land of Palestine to his people. Then too, the land was not empty. The god Yahweh was clear in his commandments: his people were to either exterminate or enslave the earlier inhabitants, according to their tribe. A kingdom was erected, stood not long, and fell. Now his people are back, and again doing what at least some of them believe to be their god's bidding. Some Talmudic scholars have been offering the more religious soldiers moral support: it is okay to kill Arab women and children, so long as it's done in such a way that it doesn't make Jews look bad. The less religious ones need no special encouragement to kill—their secular hatred suffices. Such are the fruits of empire.

In the Middle East, in this region of oil and violence, the legacy and actuality of imperialism make themselves felt all too clearly. But we must also see beyond the horizon of imperial domination. In today's world of governing by remote control, the independent nation-state is precisely the organizational subunit into which people must be divided before they are absorbed into a world empire. Those divisions must be torn asunder.



# Kinder, Gentler



by Nestor Makhno

I attended the Friday after Thanksgiving Buy Nothing Day event in San Francisco, and while I'm quite sympathetic to the general aim of Buy Nothing Day, I think there are a few things that could be greatly improved about your leaflet, "The ABC's of Buying Nothing."

1. You suggest, "Barter instead of buying. Participate in exchange without contributing to this economic system."

Whenever you have human beings mediating their relationships to one another through exchange you have the material basis for inequality and exploitation; the market is making the decisions, not the people involved. Barter and money are both forms of market exchange, and as such are inherently alienating. Both are based on private property. That's the opposite of a situation where private property has been abolished. If you call for people to barter you are calling for what you hope will be a kinder, gentler form of private property.

All the authentically revolutionary Marxist and anarchist tendencies in modern history have aspired to go beyond using money, not regress to pre-capitalist forms of the market economy. For all their mistakes and limitations, in places like rural Spain in 1936, and under the Soviet regime in Hungary in 1919, 20th century revolutionary movements that attempted to create post-capitalist societies were often clear on the need to not just abolish money, but to abolish the underlying commodity exchange relations that money is the most visible symbol of. That's what the slogan, "From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs" means.



## Local activist critiques Buy Nothing Day flyer

Most people in the real world don't work because they believe in it or don't have anything better to do with their lives, but because they are coerced into it -- they have no choice. On an individual level we are powerless and at the mercy of the commodity system. People work to avoid complete and total impoverishment, and often nowadays even working all the time doesn't save a lot of people from being poor. And for most people who can't work, homelessness awaits, and capital has a vast and ever growing police and incarceration apparatus to accommodate their needs. The only people who consider poverty to be a virtue are people who grew up far from it -- or a few religious nuts.

"Finding a job you like" isn't an real option either, except for a tiny fraction of a single percentage point of everybody who works for wages. Most forms of wage labor are

then you are an exploiter. And the era when large numbers of people could opt out of society and go live by themselves far away from others faded away more than a hundred years ago. The point isn't to run away from the problem, or seek an individual way of opting out of the global capitalist order -- there isn't one. The point is to get together with other people who are in a similar situation of exploitation and dispossession and fight together against bosses, landlords, corporations and the rich -- for less work, for more pay, for more free time, and ultimately for our own power outside of and against the market and the state.

Today capitalism has created a massive profit-motivated housing crisis in the Bay Area. This means many people are paying up to 50% or more of their income to keep a roof over their heads. In this context, a glib

doesn't mean anybody should be expected to be a perfect angel in their personal life; we are mere mortals, after all.)

Life under capitalism is getting worse and worse for the vast majority of people in the US, the richest and most wasteful country on earth. This presents people who consider themselves to be against the current way society is organized with enormous possibilities. Liberalism, Leninism and social democracy are dead. For the first time in seven or eight decades we can make our politics relevant to the vast majority of the wage-slave class, the only section of society who are really in a position to attack and sink the bosses' economy, and who have everything to gain in a fight for a sane, ecologically sustainable world. But the capitalist class won't be threatened and might even be quite pleased if large numbers of working people were to voluntarily relinquish what few material gains they have and self-manage a massive reduction of their living standards. In any case that probably won't happen. Almost no one will ever fight to have less than what they have. Most working people experience enough privation in their lives, and you aren't going to get anywhere by suggesting they should embrace total impoverishment as an individual moral response to the horrors of capitalism.

Under the right circumstances, most people will fight for more wealth and more power in their lives, and that should be encouraged. There is a lot of excellent potential in having an anti-commodity-fetishism day in major shopping areas on the biggest commodity fetishism day of the year. Consumer society is



# Private Property

## Local activist critiques

### Buy Nothing Day flyer

The Friday after Thanksgiving normally marks the beginning of the winter shopping season (and that's really what the holidays are about these days, as over-consumption surpasses goodwill). But while some of us are shopping for luxuries, others are working overtime, trying to make enough money to buy a few small gifts for their families. Profits from this spree go to a small segment of the population, furthering an economic system where 20% of the world's population are privileged to use 80% of the resources. In addition to the basically passive protest you can partake in by buying nothing today, here are some suggestions for better ways that you can spend your time, money and resources.

and anarchist tendencies in modern history have aspired to go beyond using money, not regress to pre-capitalist forms of the market economy. For all their mistakes and limitations, in places like rural Spain in 1936, and under the Soviet regime in Hungary in 1919, 20th century revolutionary movements that attempted to create post-capitalist societies were often clear on the need to not just abolish money, but to abolish the underlying commodity exchange relations that money is the most visible symbol of. That's what the slogan, "From each according to their ability, to each according to their need" refers to; a situation where all wealth is produced and allocated freely and according to need, without trade or exchange of any kind, not a private property system like what exists with barter. If you attempted to apply a system as awkward and inefficient as barter to the level of a large scale society, its inherent clumsiness and inefficiency would probably lead most people back to using money.

An article in the Situationist International Anthology about the Watts riots of 1965, "The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle Commodity Economy," and Reading Capital Politically by Harry Cleaver both show how the tendency to go beyond exchange altogether asserts itself again and again in many contemporary working class rebellions. These moments of revolt usually have contradictory elements, but this tendency to assert real human needs against the market is exactly the thing that should be encouraged by anyone opposed to today's global social order. The

abolition of all acts of buying and selling isn't just a good idea for the distant future; it's a living tendency that emerges in the most advanced social struggles. Market relations are the basis of what's wrong with life on earth. Whether it's money, barter, trade or exchange, the market economy has to be abolished. There isn't any opting out of it on a personal level.

2. Also, there's nothing particularly virtuous about limiting your shopping to "indy" capitalist enterprises. This comes off like the crusty-punk version of the shop-your-way-to-a-better-world bullshit that you find in a more upscale form from The Body Shop, Smith and Hawken and Mother Jones magazine.

3. Finally, I come to the letter Q: "Quit your job. Find one you like. Work part-time or not at all."

# The ABC's of Buying Nothing

The Friday after Thanksgiving normally marks the beginning of the winter shopping season (and that's really what the holidays are about these days, as over-consumption surpasses goodwill). But while some of us are shopping for luxuries, others are working overtime, trying to make enough money to buy a few small gifts for their families. Profits from this spree go to a small segment of the population, furthering an economic system where 20% of the world's population are privileged to use 80% of the resources. In addition to the basically passive protest you can partake in by buying nothing today, here are some suggestions for better ways that you can spend your time, money and resources.

Art is cool cause you can make people think. (A is also for Anarchy, of course.)



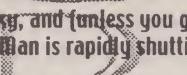
Barter instead of buying. Participate in exchange without contributing to this economic system.



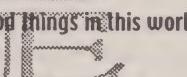
Cooking and crafts. Why buy something when you can create it (and share it with friends)?



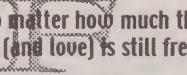
Dancing is primal, sexy, and fun (unless you go to those SOMA clubs that the Man is rapidly shutting down) it's free.



Everything, as all good things in this world are (or should be) free.



Fucking - because no matter how much they try to commercialize it, sex (and love) is still free.



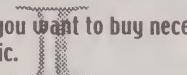
Graffiti. Reclaim public eye space (see A) (Be clever, be careful.)



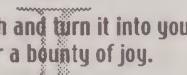
Hacking. Use the new technology against them. Take matters into your own hands.



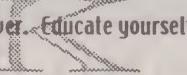
Indy. Go indy when you want to buy necessities like food, books, and music.



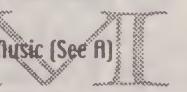
Junk. Find their trash and turn it into your treasure. Make every dumpster a bounty of joy.



Knowledge is power. Educate yourself TODAY.



LIFE!



Reclaim the Streets 415.820.9658 rts\_eastbay@yahoo.com

the offending flyer

no one will ever fight to have less than what they have. Most working people experience enough privation in their lives, and you aren't going to get anywhere by suggesting they should embrace total impoverishment as an individual moral response to the horrors of capitalism.

Under the right circumstances, most people will fight for more wealth and more power in their lives, and that should be encouraged. There is a lot of excellent potential in having an anti-commodity-fetishism day in major shopping areas on the biggest commodity fetishism day of the year. Consumer society is empty and bogus, and many of those shoppers in Union Square may on some level be aware of this. But in the future you should address the issue of wage labor from the inside; talk about how wage labor is the basis of what's wrong with life on earth today in a way that will be intelligible to contemporary working people. That means a perspective for mass collective action by wage workers against market relations, against the state, against advertising and the media, against the entire totalitarian reality of contemporary capitalist society. Many working people may on some subliminal level already be aware of these issues, and can probably be reached this way.

Wage labor is based on an artificial poverty created by capitalism; we work because we have no choice. Capitalism has created the material basis for a global society where all human beings could have adequate food, clothing, housing, health care, education and an equal say in how society is run, but the market stands in the way of this, it separates us from all the wealth we create, and the private sector elite uses lies and terror to keep things this way. Getting rid of capitalism will require a large-scale, conscious, organized revolutionary movement; millions of people taking action. But there are also real tendencies at work now in the daily lives of working and poor people that tend in this direction, even during a reactionary period like the present, where working and poor people assert their needs against the profit requirements of the market. Your suggestions about stealing and occupation of social space are excellent and tap into this.

There is a profound and spreading dissatisfaction around us with what passes for life under capitalism at the beginning of the 20th century. The opportunities in coming decades may be tremendous. But an

exchange or any kind, not a private property system like what exists with barter. If you attempted to apply a system as awkward and inefficient as barter to the level of a large scale society, its inherent clumsiness and inefficiency would probably lead most people back to using money.

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3. Finally, I come to the letter Q: "Quit your job. Find one you like. Work part-time or not at all."

This suggestion reeks of upper middle class privilege and naiveté. I can only begin to imagine how ridiculous this must sound to a working class single mother, who can't go back to live with her mom and dad in an upscale suburb when she gets tired of dumpster-diving. If your suggestions don't connect with the real lives of the vast majority of people outside the drop-out/career protester/slumming-offspring-of-the-upper-middle-class ghetto then what you suggest will be self-indulgent, irrelevant, or worse.

Barter instead of buying. Participate in exchange without contributing to this economic system.

Cooking and crafts. Buy something when you can create it (and share it with friends)?

Dancing is primal, sexy, and (unless you go to those SOMA clubs that the Man is rapidly shutting down) it's free.

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Graffiti. Reclaim public eye space (see A) (Be clever, be careful.)

Hacking. Use the new technology against them. Take matters into your own hands.

Indy. Go indy when you want to buy necessities like food, books, and music.

Junk. Find their trash and turn it into your treasure. Make every dumpster a bounty of joy.

Knowledge is power. Educate yourself TODAY.

LIFE!

Music (See A)

Occupy whichever space you want. squat, steal, and create the space and time you need.

Public space. Beyond nature our free urban gathering places are rapidly being usurped by for-profit enterprises. Stop them now! (See A-Z)

Quit your job. Find one you like. Work part-time or not at all.

Riot. Try it - it's fun! Reclaim the Streets!

Steal something. And Sabotage. And Soccer cause its fun.

Talking. Face to face conversation is way more quality time than cell phones, e-mails, or television could ever be.

Under the cobblestones, the beach.

Victory will be ours. It just takes a little work. Keep it up.

Walk! Don't drive. Cars suck.

Xerox - copy machines are a cheap, easy, and most importantly - infinitely reproducible way of getting your ideas out.

Yell. Your ideas are meant to be heard.

Zero. The amount of money you will spend today.

**Reclaim the Streets 415.820.9658 rts\_eastbay@yahoo.com**

**the offending flyer**

inherently demeaning, stupid, socially unnecessary, ecologically destructive, or all of these things. In any case, the way you put "finding a job you like" forward as if it was a radical political response to the conditions of contemporary life leads to the assumption that if a atomized individual can find a job they like, they will no longer have any reason to be dissatisfied with life under capitalism!

If you have to work for wages you are being exploited. If you get others to work for you

suggestion to "work part-time or not at all" has the smell of the trust-fund check recipient about it.

In your ABC's of Buying Nothing There is a tension between the desire to have an impact on the larger social reality around you, and a need to provide a political rational for your own individual lifestyle choices. As long as you aren't exploiting or victimizing others in your daily life your individual lifestyle options are your concern, and probably aren't of much interest to anybody other than you. (That

is. But in the future you should address the issue of wage labor from the inside; talk about how wage labor is the basis of what's wrong with life on earth today in a way that will be intelligible to contemporary working people. That means a perspective for mass collective action by wage workers against market relations, against the state, against advertising and the media, against the entire totalitarian reality of contemporary capitalist society. Many working people may on some subliminal level already be aware of these issues, and can probably be reached this way.

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There is a profound and spreading dissatisfaction around us with what passes for life under capitalism at the beginning of the 20th century. The opportunities in coming decades may be tremendous. But an individualistic, moralistic drop-out trip isn't going to go anywhere. It may make some people feel good, but isn't going to communicate anything subversive to the vast majority of people who can make things happen, and it isn't going to create a better world.



# Robert King Wilkerson Free After 29 Years of Isolation

Austin Area Angola 3 Support Committee

Robert King Wilkerson, one of the prisoners known as "the Angola 3," was released from Louisiana State Penitentiary February 8, 2001 after spending twenty-nine years in solitary confinement for a murder he did not commit.

Wilkerson, 57, was convicted of the 1973 murder of a fellow Angola prisoner despite the fact that another man confessed and was convicted of the murder. After two prisoners retracted their testimony and revealed that it had been coerced by prison officials, the United States Court of Appeals in December issued a ruling that almost certainly would have led to his release. In what his supporters characterized as a face-saving move, the state offered Wilkerson a plea bargain, which he accepted. Six hours later, Wilkerson walked out of Angola a free man.

He has pledged to dedicate his life to winning freedom for Albert Woodfox and Herman Wallace, the other two members of the Angola 3, and for all of the other innocent men with whom he was incarcerated for the past

three decades.

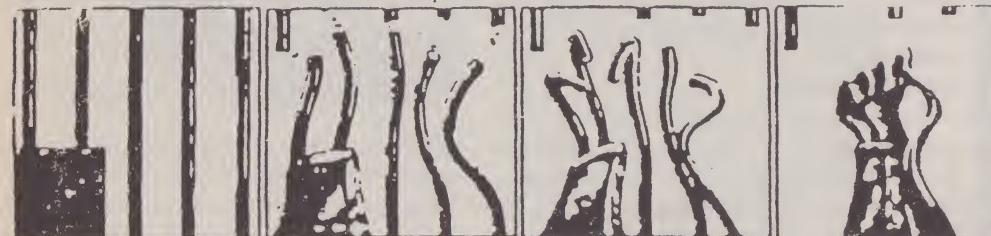
"I may be free of Angola, but Angola will never be free of me," Wilkerson said.

Wilkerson, Woodfox, and Wallace have always believed that they were framed by prison officials because they organized the Angola chapter of the Black Panther Party. Prior to being placed in solitary confinement, the men led campaigns to end prisoner rape, improve race relations, and ameliorate conditions at the slave plantation-turned-prison.

The American Civil Liberties Union is currently pursuing a federal lawsuit alleging that the men's 29-year stay in solitary confinement amounts to unconstitutional cruel and unusual punishment.

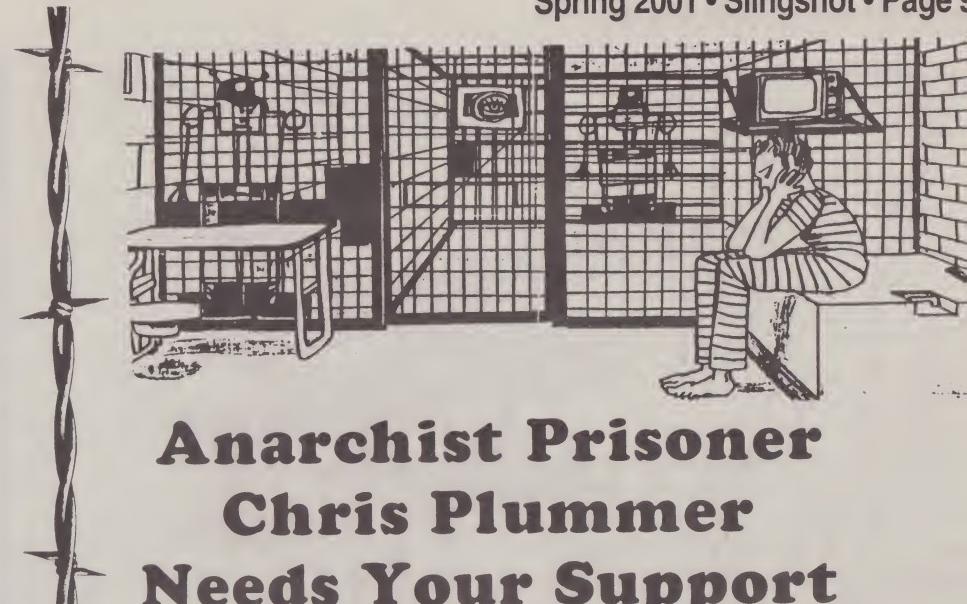
Now that he is free, Wilkerson plans to travel and speak out against the imprisonment of Woodfox and Wallace and the continuing growth of the American prison-industrial complex.

For more information contact Marina Drummer, National Coalition to Free the Angola 3, (510) 655-8770.



## Trying developments

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## Anarchist Prisoner Chris Plummer Needs Your Support

BY The Chris Plummer Defence Committee

Chris Plummer is an anti-racist anarchist activist imprisoned in Texas. In the early 90's he and some friends formed the United Anarchist Front, a group designed to carry out actions against agents of fascist terror, particularly the cops and organized white supremacists. He was convicted in 1993 for his part in an action carried out on a Nazi-skinhead house in Houston, Texas. The action was intended to halt the American Front, an openly fascist group, from spreading propaganda. No one was hurt during the action, only the Nazis hate literature was destroyed. Chris faced several charges including attempted murder. The murder charge was dropped but he was convicted of Burglary of Habitation with Intent to Commit Theft, and sentenced to 15 years.

Chris did not stop his organizing efforts after being imprisoned. The Texas prison system has a well justified reputation for being a maelstrom of hate, terror and exploitation, with conflict encouraged between different groups by the administration. In spite of this environment Chris was able to set up a prisoner organization called Cell One at Huntsville. One of Cell One's main projects was

siezed and destroyed all of his property including important legal material. Along with various threats to his well-being, he was told he was now being charged with conspiracy to smuggle guns into the prison -- a blatant lie and frame-up.

The guards further actions can and should be defined as torture. For days afterwards Chris had to endure repeated strip searches and cell searches. In his own words "I have been pulled out of my cell an average of 13 times per 8 hour shift. I have not had a solid hours sleep in 3 days. They refuse to allow me to even have stamps or writing materials. And I have no doubt they will carry out some of their threats."

Since that time the situation has grown more severe. While the prison authorities have relented somewhat in their daily harrassment, Chris' incoming and outgoing mail is being heavily censored. Letters from some of his support groups have been seized as "gang-related", as were his letters to those groups. Neither Chris nor the support groups were informed of this by prison staff. Still worse, Chris was paid visits from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) in late October 1997 and was told they will be

He has pledged to dedicate his life to winning freedom for Albert Woodfox and Herman Wallace, the other two members of the Angola 3, and for all of the other innocent men with whom he was incarcerated for the past



# Trying developments for Free and Critter

"There seems to be a conscious program underway to isolate and undermine Eugene's anarchist community. If history is any guide, this should be understood as the first step in an attack on activism overall. If Free and Critter are not defended, in the political arena as well as in court, we can only expect more trouble for progressive activists of all stripes." -- Free and Critter's Legal Defense Committee

It has been a trying and emotional time here in Eugene, Oregon. As many of you know, our friends and fellow activists Jeffrey Luers, Free, and Craig Marshall, Critter, have been incarcerated since June 16, 2000. Both men plead "not guilty" to nine felony charges, including arson, and one misdemeanor. After a delay, both men's pre-trial arguments started November 8th. After only two days of trial Free's defense attorney, Ken Morrows, died of a heart attack. The confusion following this unprecedented turn of events has led to motions of severance, mistrial and new plea bargains from the deputy district attorney prosecuting the case, Caren Tracy. Free's parents and members of the Legal Defense Committee scrambled to the courthouse to learn what may be in store for the trial. No one seemed to know quite what to do. There has never been a case of a lawyer dying trial in

growth of the American prison complex.

For more information contact Marina Drummer, National Coalition to Free the Angola 3, (510) 655-8770.

supremacists. He was convicted in 1993 for his part in an action carried out on a Nazi-skinhead house in Houston, Texas. The action was intended to halt the American Front, an openly fascist group, from spreading propaganda. No one was hurt during the action, only the Nazis hate literature was destroyed. Chris faced several charges including attempted murder. The murder charge was dropped but he was convicted of Burglary of Habitation with Intent to Commit Theft, and sentenced to 15 years.

Chris did not stop his organizing efforts after being imprisoned. The Texas prison system has a well justified reputation for being a maelstrom of hate, terror and exploitation, with conflict encouraged between different groups by the administration. In spite of this environment Chris was able to set up a prisoner organization called Cell One at Huntsville. One of Cell One's main projects was the Texas Prisoners' Anarchist Lending Library. The Library made books, pamphlets and magazines available to prisoners. In March of 1997, guards confiscated and then "lost" all of the books as well as many of Chris' personal possessions under the pretext of a "gang-activity" investigation. Around this time, intimidation attacks from a Nazi prisoner gang escalated in a murderous assault where Chris had his jaw and cheekbone broken and barely escaped death.

In May, 1997 Chris was transferred to the Hughes Unit in Gatesville, Texas where Chris reported that racial tension and general violence was rampant. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice chose this unit knowing that a paid hit was out on Chris' life by Nazi prison gangs. Shortly after the transfer he was put in Administrative Segregation on lock-down (isolation) for arbitrary and unclear reasons.

On August 26, 1997, Chris was again attacked by prison staff. This time in retaliation for Chris speaking out in support of another prisoner, Tony Collins, who had just been convicted of possessing a gun. Guards

## A message from the Free and Critter Legal Defense Committee

The friends and family of Free and Critter want to thank all of you sincerely for your interest in their case and for your many supportive actions. Below are addresses where you may write Free and Critter and give them the support they really need right now. Also, if you have the ability to help friends and family offset very expensive legal costs, please send money or please consider working on a campaign for political prisoners near you. In

The guards further actions can and should be defined as torture. For days afterwards Chris had to endure repeated strip searches and cell searches. In his own words "I have been pulled out of my cell an average of 13 times per 8 hour shift. I have not had a solid hours sleep in 3 days. They refuse to allow me to even have stamps or writing materials. And I have no doubt they will carry out some of their threats."

Since that time the situation has grown more severe. While the prison authorities have relented somewhat in their daily harrassment, Chris' incoming and outgoing mail is being heavily censored. Letters from some of his support groups have been seized as "gang-related", as were his letters to those groups. Neither Chris nor the support groups were informed of this by prison staff. Still worse, Chris was paid visits from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) in late October 1997 and was told they will be pressing charges for gun-smuggling. A conviction on these charges would result in 30 to 40 more years of prison.

We must defend Chris and halt this drawn-out torturous injustice. Not just because Chris' life is on the line but because he is one of those who continues to fight in our common struggle for liberation and against injustice. If we ignore his plight our own struggles will be that much weaker.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO:

Please write and call the following prison authorities: Warden Moya Rt. 2 Box 4400 Gatesville, TX 76597 (254) 865-6663; Wayne Scott, Director Texas Dept. of Corrections P.O. Box 99 Huntsville, TX 77342 (409) 295-6371. Demand that the charges against Chris Plummer (#677345) be dropped, threats and harassment stopped, and the stolen property be returned.

If you can provide any legal help or provide funds to cover the many legal costs, please contact: Christopher Lee Plummer #677345 Hughes Unit Rt. 2 Box 4400 Gatesville, TX 76597

# Free and Critter

"There seems to be a conscious program underway to isolate and undermine Eugene's anarchist community. If history is any guide, this should be understood as the first step in an attack on activism overall. If Free and Critter are not defended, in the political arena as well as in court, we can only expect more trouble for progressive activists of all stripes." -- Free and Critter's Legal Defense Committee

It has been a trying and emotional time here in Eugene, Oregon. As many of you know, our friends and fellow activists Jeffrey Luers, Free, and Craig Marshall, Critter, have been incarcerated since June 16, 2000. Both men plead "not guilty" to nine felony charges, including arson, and one misdemeanor. After a delay, both men's pre-trial arguments started November 8th. After only two days of trial Free's defence attorney, Ken Morrows, died of a heart attack. The confusion following this unprecedented turn of events has led to motions of severance, mistrial and new plea bargains from the deputy district attorney prosecuting the case, Caren Tracy. Free's parents and members of the Legal Defense Committee scrambled to the courthouse to learn what may be in store for the trial. No one seemed to know quite what to do. There has never been a case of a lawyer dying trial in Oregon. Mark Spence, a court-appointed attorney, was assigned temporarily to help Free through the transition. He moved for a mistrial. Brian Barnes, Critter's lawyer, moved to sever the cases allowing Critter's case to continue with the same jury.

During the confusion the DA's office offered Free and Critter new plea bargains. Free was offered 156 months in prison and years of probation. In the deal Free would have to plead guilty to "Arson 1" and "Conspiracy to commit arson". Free decided against the offer and because of publicity of the trial due to his lawyer's death, decided that a mistrial would be in his best interest.

After considering advice from his lawyer, friends and Free, Critter decided to accept the deal offered to him. Critter did not agree to admit guilt but acknowledged that it was possible to convict on the evidence. Critter

was sentenced to 66 months in prison with three years probation for "Conspiracy to commit arson" as well as 6 months and two years probation for the "Possession of a destructive device" charge. They are to run concurrently. It also appears that Critter will be eligible for a "boot camp" after 11 months.

After completing this 6-month boot camp Critter would be eligible for early release. His attorney noted that Measure 11 forces people to make decisions they don't want to make.

On January 31st, Free's defenders won a battle with Asst.DA Caren Tracy when Lane County Circuit Court Judge Lyle Velure ruled to allow Atty. Brian Barnes to continue to represent Free at trial. Trial date was set for April 3rd.

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Jeffrey Luers (Free) #1206729 101 W. 5th Street Eugene, Oregon 97401 or Craig Marshall (Critter) c/o FCLDC, PO Box 50263, Eugene, Oregon 97405.

The Free and Critter Legal Defense Committee can be reached directly at: c/o Eugene Peaceworks 454 Willamette Eugene, OR 97401 (we also have excellent t-shirts. All proceeds go to the Legal Defense Fund. Thanks to the Coalition Against Civilization for printing and donating the shirts! Suggested donation \$15 payable to the FCLDC. Note size, S M L XL)

PLEASE SEND MONEY TO: O.U.R. Credit Union C/o Free and Critter Legal Defense Fund P.O. Box 11922 Eugene, OR 97440.

Contact the defense fund at  
<http://www.efn.org/~eugpeace/~freecritter>

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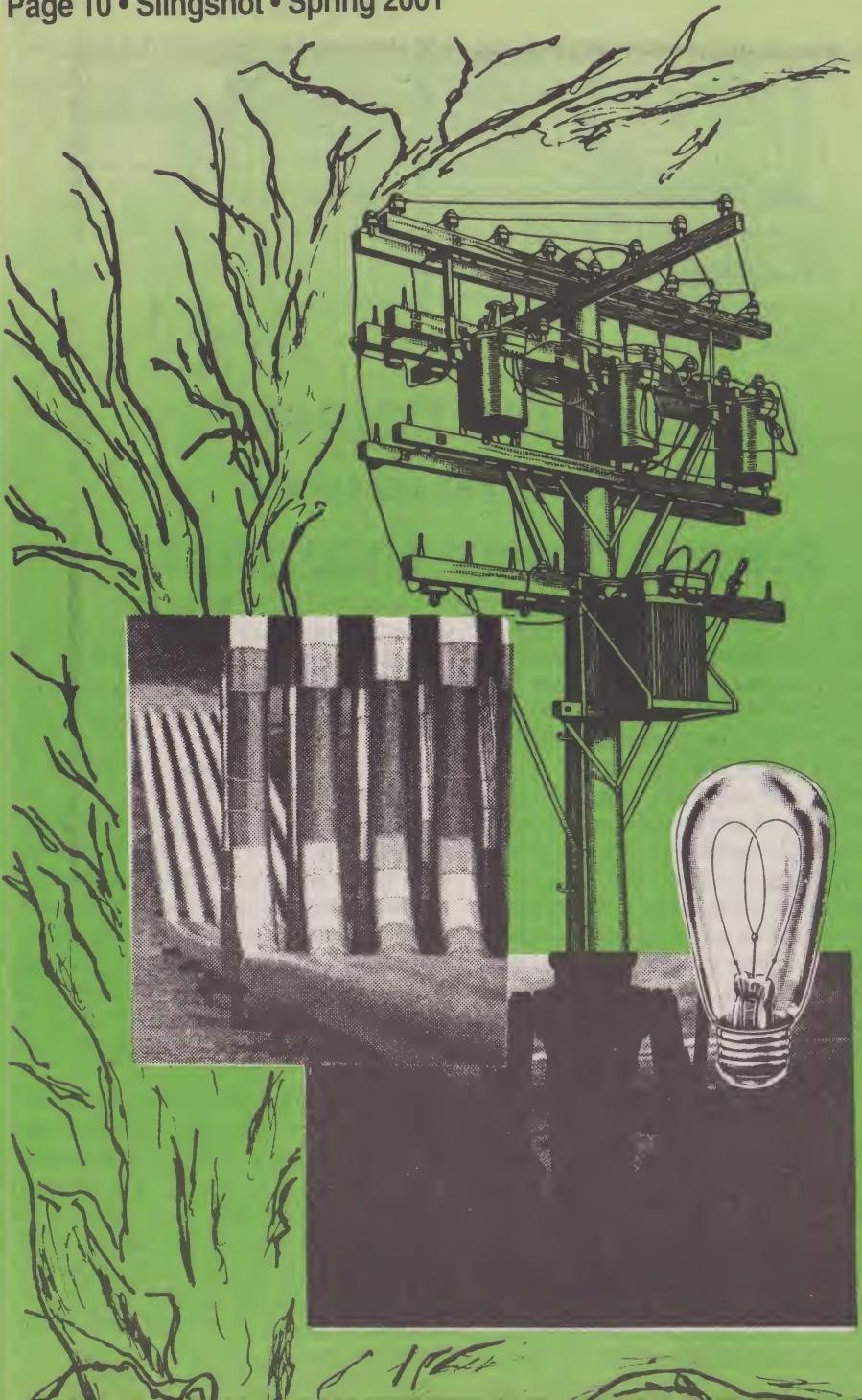
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# WE ARE The Global

By PB Floyd and Xarick

It is becoming increasingly certain both that human activity is causing global warming and that this warming will have grave effects on all life on the planet. The lack of any meaningful response to the crisis is staggering, although not totally unexpected: The current industrial/corporate order requires precisely the ever increasing resource consumption that causes global warming. Around the world, almost all human actions use fossil fuel energy, spewing carbon dioxide, the main green house gas, into the atmosphere.

Unlike many other "problems" caused by the current industrial/corporate economic system—sweatshops, hunger, human displacement—global warming, once it permanently changes the climate, is harder to reverse should people finally overthrow the current economic system. Conversely, overthrowing this order, which requires constant economic growth and exists without regard to human happiness or even survival—much less environmental sustainability—is required to attack green house warming in any meaningful way.

#### No longer a question

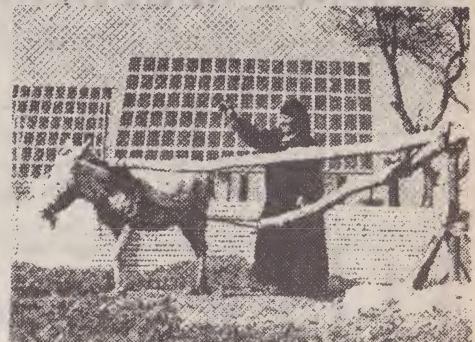
The science behind global warming due to human emissions of green house gases is becoming increasingly certain (see sidebar). Almost every day, a new study or report is released pointing to the grave environmental consequences associated with the daily unintentional intervention in the planet's climate and its atmosphere. Coral reefs may have 20 years left if current trends continue. Polar bears are likely to face extinction in our lifetimes. All of the marine species currently living off the coast of Monterey, CA may go extinct because the water temperature is

Seemingly subtle climate changes can upset the balance, and wildlife can't adapt or move fast enough to compensate.

And while human animals have many clever ways of adapting to rapid climate change, it is likely that famine, disease, displacement and hardship will grip societies around the world in the coming decades, primarily harming those who are poorest and least able to survive now, much less cope with climate change.

#### Corporate hot air

International efforts to limit further emissions of green house gases, organized as the Kyoto Protocol, broke down this winter,



largely because of US insistence on provisions that would protect powerful corporate interests who don't want any limitations on their fossil fuel profits. Don't look for any improvement during the oil-funded Bush years. Even if international limits had been imposed, the Kyoto plan only sought to limit emissions to 1990 levels—global carbon dioxide levels were increasing almost 1 percent a year based on those levels.

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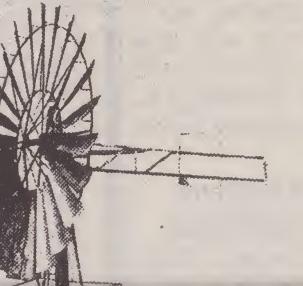
# Hope Lies with the Sun

by Xarick

Energy is the foundation of life. We can no longer afford to treat energy generation as the vague realm of benign public utilities and powerful corporations beyond our control. We must educate ourselves about this fundamental part of life and society, and literally retake the power for the people.

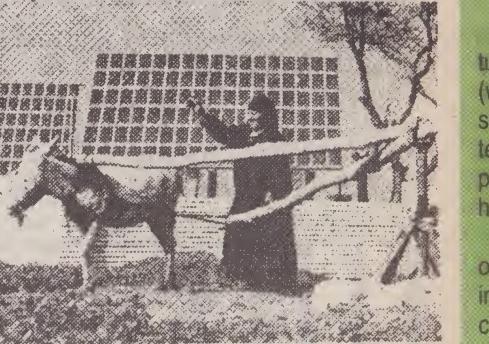
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One of the Bush Administration's first policy initiatives looks like it will be Congressional approval of an alleged "Energy Policy" which purports to be the first major "overhaul" of US energy policy in over a decade. The plan is focused on reducing US

European electricity demand may be met by wind by 2030.

## Hydrogen:

Hydrogen is a good way to store energy. The gas can be produced from water by electrolysis powered by photovoltaic panels or wind turbines, or from natural gas, methanol, or biomass with added heat. Hydrogen can be recombined with oxygen in a fuel cell to generate extremely clean electricity, or burned as a fuel. When coupled with wind/solar technology, hydrogen is a potentially very decentralized, clean way to generate electricity and heat.

## Biomass:

Biomass involves using organic (manure, dedicated energy crops, animal waste, municipal waste, etc.) to produce electricity, liquid/solid/gaseous fuels (biodiesel, hydrogen, ethanol, etc.), chemicals.

Biomass accounts for 3% of both energy supply and electricity supply. It emits little carbon and can reduce sulfur dioxides and other air pollutants.

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This article gives a brief overview of renewable energy sources. Renewable energy currently constitutes 3.4% of US total energy supply, the vast majority of which is generated by biomass.

## Solar:

Energy from the sun is the foundation of renewable energy. Technically, sunlight, wind, and biomass are all forms of energy from the sun. Although both solar and wind are extremely promising renewable energy sources, they account for only 0.4% of the US primary energy supply, and a smaller fraction of our electricity generation.

Photovoltaic (PV) cells use the sun's energy to generate electricity; the electricity can be used directly, to charge batteries for later use, or to generate hydrogen from water by electrolysis. PV cells are only about 15% efficient; more research must be done to increase the efficiency and make PV-generated electricity less expensive. PV cells, particularly when paired with hydrogen fuel cells, hold great promise for a decentralized, clean energy system.

The sun can also be used to directly heat water, buildings, and to provide building ventilation.

## Wind:

Heat from the sun warms air, causing the air movement we call wind. Wind energy is very successful in several European countries,



especially Denmark, where it accounts for 3.5% percent of their primary energy. More than 75% of Danish wind turbines are owned collectively; turbines are operated singly or in small groups. Denmark also has a number of off-shore wind farms. In contrast, the US and the UK have concentrated on large land-based wind farms which have not been as successful.

There are a number of tricky technical issues with wind turbines, such as the maintenance associated with so many moving parts and buffeting by strong/varied wind speeds. Wind power has essentially no emissions. It is estimated that 30% of

European electricity demand may be met by wind by 2030.

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Caution: Hydrogen could also be used in a way requiring a large transportation infrastructure similar to that of natural gas (the 'hydrogen economy'). This is the industry's goal.



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Biomass accounts for 3% of both US total energy supply and electricity supply. Biomass emits little carbon and can reduce nitrous and sulfur dioxides and other air pollutants.

Concerns: What kind of land should be dedicated to producing energy crops? Also, organic matter can be used to produce certain plastics and chemicals that would be superfluous in a truly sustainable society (think of Archer Daniels Midland, DuPont, etc.).

## Geothermal:

Geothermal energy employs steam or very hot water coming from the earth to power turbines and generate electricity.

Geothermal energy meets only a tiny fraction of the US electricity demand.

Current technology is very reliable (>95%) and emits almost no carbon. Geothermal energy is not cost competitive with current fossil fuel technology, because the US government was not interested in investing in technology/exploration. Total possible generating capacity is not known but estimated to be large with the right technology.

## Other possibilities:

Folks like to talk about capturing energy from tides, waves, magma within the earth, and other wacky sources. Right now these are not technically feasible options, and will not be needed if we commit to using less energy.

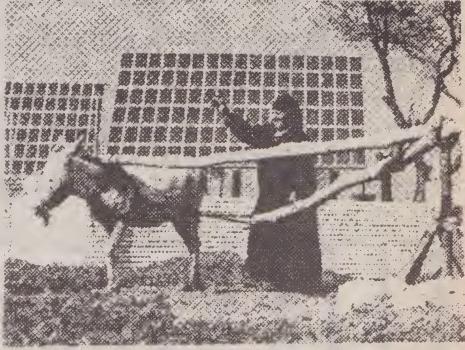
# WE ARE COMPLICIT IN OUR FATE e Global Warming Cr

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One of the Bush Administration's first policy initiatives looks like it will be Congressional approval of an alleged "Energy Policy" which purports to be the first major "overhaul" of US energy policy in over a decade. The plan is focused on reducing US

dependence on foreign oil and ignores global warming and the need to stop fossil fuel consumption entirely.

Currently, 56 percent of US oil is imported. Under a bill proposed by senator Murkowski of Alaska, that rate would drop 6 whole percent, to 50 percent. This would be accomplished by drilling for oil in a portion of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) and by giving tax breaks to rich oil companies to subsidize economically marginal drilling elsewhere. Although the environmentalists'

focus is on how oil drilling will destroy the Alaska wilderness, the more serious danger is that the drilling and consumption of the cheap fuel in the lower 48 will permit more carbon to be poured into the atmosphere, changing the climate of both the protected and the destroyed Alaska wilderness alike.

The current "energy crisis" in California is likewise being used as an excuse for more fossil fuel consumption—as if the green house effect did not exist—rather than as a wake up call for the need for fundamental change. The

## THE SCIENCE BEHIND GLOBAL WARMING

Energy from the sun drives the earth's weather and climate, and heats the earth's surface; in turn, the earth radiates energy back into space. Naturally occurring atmospheric greenhouse gases (water vapor, carbon dioxide, and other gases) trap some of the outgoing energy, retaining heat somewhat like the glass panels of a greenhouse. Without this natural "greenhouse effect," temperatures would be much lower than they are now, and life as known today would not be possible. Instead, thanks to greenhouse gases, the earth's average temperature is a more hospitable 60°F.

The atmospheric concentration of green house gases has been naturally balanced for thousands of years—plants use carbon dioxide, then emit it when they rot or burn, for example. Since the industrial revolution, human activities have upset the natural balance and increased the concentration of certain green house gases.

Humans release carbon dioxide which hasn't been part of the natural carbon cycle when they burn fossil fuels like oil, natural gas, and coal. They release methane during the production and transport of coal, natural gas, and oil. Methane emissions also result from the decomposition of organic wastes in municipal solid waste landfills, and the raising of livestock. Nitrous oxide is emitted during agricultural and industrial activities, as well as during combustion of solid waste and fossil fuels. Very powerful greenhouse gases that are not naturally occurring include hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs), and sulfur hexafluoride (SF<sub>6</sub>), which are generated in a variety of industrial processes.

Each greenhouse gas differs in its ability to absorb heat in the atmosphere. HFCs and PFCs are the most heat-absorbent. Methane traps over 21 times more heat per molecule than carbon dioxide, and nitrous oxide absorbs 270 times more heat per molecule than carbon dioxide.

Because of human emissions of green house gases, global mean surface temperatures have increased 0.5-1.0°F since the late 19th century. The 20th century's 10 warmest years all occurred in the last 15 years of the century. The snow cover in the Northern Hemisphere and floating ice in the Arctic Ocean have decreased. Globally, sea level has risen 4-10 inches over the past century. Worldwide precipitation over land has increased by about one percent. This and other scientific evidence is confirming the global warming being caused by human activities.

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## Decapitate th

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We are at a critical point in global energy usage. Global economic growth, and the emissions produced by fossil fuels powering the growth, are spiraling upwards at a dizzying rate. Mammoth-scale power generation and energy usage are a recipe for

# the Sun

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dramatic rise in prices of energy in California are hurting the poor (and everyone else) and it is a scandal that energy companies have manufactured a deregulation crisis so they can justify super-profits.

But the answer to the California "energy crisis" isn't to build more gas fired power plants, which is the Bush Administration's favorite solution, as well as governor Davis'. It isn't even to start publicly owned utilities to build gas fired power plants. You can't "fix" a system when it isn't broken—when it is functioning exactly as it was designed—to enrich a tiny minority and consume the planet.

#### Who is responsible?

The US currently emits more greenhouse gasses per capita than any other nation on earth. In 1997, the United States, with scarcely 4 percent of the world's population, emitted about one-fifth of total global greenhouse gases and a quarter of human carbon dioxide emissions. An average person in the United States is responsible for emitting 20 times as much carbon dioxide associated with fossil fuel combustion as a person in either India or Indonesia according to a 1998 International Energy Agency study.

Even compared to other "developed" (i.e. heavily industrialized and fossil fuel dependent) nations, US green house gas emissions are extremely high. Per person fuel combustion emissions for a person in the US are exactly double that of a person in England or Russia, almost three times the emissions of a person in France or Italy, and 5 times the emissions of a Mexican.

Every modern activity in the United States contributes to these carbon emissions. 31 percent of the total is related to transportation, 33 to industry, 20 percent to

driven per person from 37 to 1997 increased 33 percent, with the number of gallons of fuel burned for each mile also increasing as cars have gotten larger. Fuel economy of passenger vehicles decreased by 6.6 percent between 1987 and 1997.

It is easy to point all blame at corporate action—"How can what I do in my house in any way compare to that smog-belching factory?!" But residential activity accounts for a full 20 percent of US carbon emissions. A full 62% of the carbon emitted by transportation is not from industrial transportation but private cars and light trucks (SUVs!). To the degree that our lives fit the pattern of consumption created and sustained by the dominant corporate paradigm, we are complicit in global ecosystem destruction. Do you live in the suburbs and drive to the city for work? Or do you live in the city and drive to suburban outlet malls to buy bulk hamburger, soda, and discount movies? Do you feel like you have a choice?

This consumptive American lifestyle is shaped by numerous forces, none of which give a shit about our true best interests. Although we are not fully responsible, we must take responsibility because the profit-addicted corporate Hydra will not. The people who care have a humongous task: to change both personal consumption habits AND to stop the corporate/industrial production system.

The capitalist forces fueling climate change are not all-powerful. Evolution will continue. The hundred-year scale of current climate change and energy use predictions is barely a drop in the bucket of geologic time. Humans, even "influential" Americans, cannot defeat the forces of nature. The question is: are we clever enough to act in the immediate self-

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## THE SCIENCE BEHIND GLOBAL WARMING

Energy from the sun drives the earth's weather and climate, and heats the earth's surface; in turn, the earth radiates energy back into space. Naturally occurring atmospheric greenhouse gases (water vapor, carbon dioxide, and other gases) trap some of the outgoing energy, retaining heat somewhat like the glass panels of a greenhouse. Without this natural "greenhouse effect," temperatures would be much lower than they are now, and life as known today would not be possible. Instead, thanks to greenhouse gases, the earth's average temperature is a more hospitable 60°F.

The atmospheric concentration of green house gases has been naturally balanced for thousands of years—plants use carbon dioxide, then emit it when they rot or burn, for example. Since the industrial revolution, human activities have upset the natural balance and increased the concentration of certain green house gases.

Humans release carbon dioxide which hasn't been part of the natural carbon cycle when they burn fossil fuels like oil, natural gas, and coal. They release methane during the production and transport of coal, natural gas, and oil. Methane emissions also result from the decomposition of organic wastes in municipal solid waste landfills, and the raising of livestock. Nitrous oxide is emitted during agricultural and industrial activities, as well as during combustion of solid waste and fossil fuels. Very powerful greenhouse gases that are not naturally occurring include hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs), and sulfur hexafluoride ( $SF_6$ ), which are generated in a variety of industrial processes.

Each greenhouse gas differs in its ability to absorb heat in the atmosphere. HFCs and PFCs are the most heat-absorbent. Methane traps over 21 times more heat per molecule than carbon dioxide, and nitrous oxide absorbs 270 times more heat per molecule than carbon dioxide.

Because of human emissions of green house gases, global mean surface temperatures have increased 0.5-1.0°F since the late 19th century. The 20th century's 10 warmest years all occurred in the last 15 years of the century. The snow cover in the Northern Hemisphere and floating ice in the Arctic Ocean have decreased. Globally, sea level has risen 4-10 inches over the past century. Worldwide precipitation over land has increased by about one percent. This and other scientific evidence is confirming the global warming being caused by human activities.

But the answer to the California "energy crisis" isn't to build more gas fired power plants, which is the Bush Administration's favorite solution, as well as governor Davis'. It isn't even to start publicly owned utilities to build gas fired power plants. You can't "fix" a system when it isn't broken—when it is functioning exactly as it was designed—to enrich a tiny minority and consume the planet. Who is responsible?

The US currently emits more greenhouse gasses per capita than any other nation on earth. In 1997, the United States, with scarcely 4 percent of the world's population, emitted about one-fifth of total global greenhouse gases and a quarter of human carbon dioxide emissions. An average person in the United States is responsible for emitting 20 times as much carbon dioxide associated with fossil fuel combustion as a person in either India or Indonesia according to a 1998 International Energy Agency study.

Even compared to other "developed" (i.e. heavily industrialized and fossil fuel dependent) nations, US green house gas emissions are extremely high. Per person fuel combustion emissions for a person in the US are exactly double that of a person in England or Russia, almost three times the emissions of a person in France or Italy, and 5 times the emissions of a Mexican.

Every modern activity in the United States contributes to these carbon emissions. 31 percent of the total is related to transportation, 33 to industry, 20 percent to residential uses, and 16 percent to commercial uses. All sectors of fossil fuel use are increasing. For example, the number of miles

traveled by passenger vehicles decreased by 6.6 percent between 1987 and 1997.

It is easy to point all blame at corporate action—"How can what I do in my house in any way compare to that smog-belching factory?!" But residential activity accounts for a full 20 percent of US carbon emissions. A full 62% of the carbon emitted by transportation is not from industrial transportation but private cars and light trucks (SUVs!). To the degree that our lives fit the pattern of consumption created and sustained by the dominant corporate paradigm, we are complicit in global ecosystem destruction. Do you live in the suburbs and drive to the city for work? Or do you live in the city and drive to suburban outlet malls to buy bulk hamburger, soda, and discount movies? Do you feel like you have a choice?

This consumptive American lifestyle is shaped by numerous forces, none of which give a shit about our true best interests. Although we are not fully responsible, we must take responsibility because the profit-addicted corporate Hydra will not. The people who care have a humongous task: to change both personal consumption habits AND to stop the corporate/industrial production system.

The capitalist forces fueling climate change are not all-powerful. Evolution will continue. The hundred-year scale of current climate change and energy use predictions is barely a drop in the bucket of geologic time. Humans, even "influential" Americans, cannot defeat the forces of nature. The question is: are we clever enough to act in the immediate self-interest of our species (and other life on the planet—our biological brethren), to prevent massive suffering of our collective progeny?

## Decapitate the Energy Behemoth

by Xarick

We are at a critical point in global energy usage. Global economic growth, and the emissions produced by fossil fuels powering the growth, are spiraling upwards at a dizzying rate. Mammoth-scale power generation and energy usage are a recipe for disaster in the form of climate change.

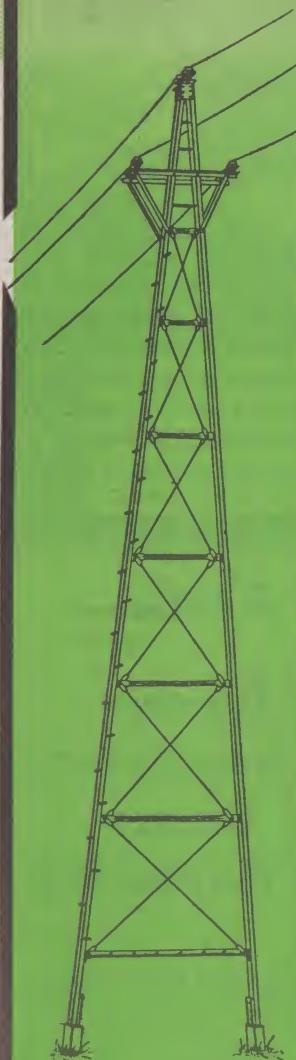
However, burgeoning interest in renewable energy may avert the crisis. Wind and solar energy technology are rapidly improving,

renewable energy. Wind energy is now cost-competitive with the artificially low fossil fuel energy prices. Houses and neighborhoods can be cleanly powered through a combination of photovoltaic (PV), wind, and hydrogen fuel cell technology.

Energy captured by wind turbines and PV panels can be used to separate water into hydrogen and oxygen by electrolysis. Energy is

and world-wide electrification shaped our contemporary world, complete with global warming and environmental and indigenous peoples' destruction.

This harmful growth burgeoned with the cheap oil available during the 1950's and 60's. Few paid attention to the fact that complex worldwide economic and social structures were increasingly dependent upon one fuel, available



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However, burgeoning interest in renewable energy may avert the crisis. Wind and solar energy technology, around the corner since the 1970's, is finally readily available, and continues to improve. Overall energy efficiency is increasing.

Perhaps most promisingly, renewable energy technology works best in a decentralized, locally based system. The large, capital-intensive infrastructure that supports the fossil fuel energy market is not required by solar, wind, and fuel cell technology, which are well suited for home, neighborhood, and regional power generation.

Some folks, including Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown, are calling renewable energy firms the next dot-coms. But therein lies the problem! The technology is being developed largely in a free-market manner that continues to emphasize the very economic growth that is overwhelming the planet. And implementation often depends heavily on government incentives.

The energy revolution must extend all the way from the development stages to installation. We must develop a structure for technology development and implementation independent from the old funding giants that are the cornerstone of the energy status quo. **Renewables are here!**

Renewable energy has been a household term for the past two decades. People in the US and Europe overwhelmingly support use of

renewable energy. Wind energy is now cost-competitive with the artificially low fossil fuel energy prices. Houses and neighborhoods can be cleanly powered through a combination of photovoltaic (PV), wind, and hydrogen fuel cell technology.

Energy captured by wind turbines and PV panels can be used to separate water into hydrogen and oxygen by electrolysis. Energy is stored in the form of hydrogen gas, which can be recombined with oxygen later in a fuel cell to generate electricity. Fuel cells can use other fuels than hydrogen, like methane and other natural gasses, with relatively few emissions.

However, when fuel cells use hydrogen, the only products are heat, pure water, and an electric current. Pretty neat, huh? This technology is all available today, and continues to improve rapidly.

### Energy status quo

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**Government incentives are the cattle prod; direct action is the guillotine.**

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With such promising technology, why does oil and coal still dominate the energy market? Why is renewable energy just now seriously emerging? Fossil fuels still supply 85% of US energy and 75% world-wide.

This dominance was launched by two key technological developments: that of the internal combustion engine and of electric power, both at the (previous) turn of the century. The economic growth fueled by the petroleum industry, the automotive industry,

and world-wide electrification shaped our contemporary world, complete with global warming and environmental and indigenous peoples' destruction.

This harmful growth burgeoned with the cheap oil available during the 1950's and 60's. Few paid attention to the fact that complex worldwide economic and social structures were increasingly dependent upon one fuel, available primarily in one part of the world. The

**Continued on page 18**



## BERKELEY DOESN'T NEED MORE CARS DESPITE WHAT CITY THINKS

by the Twenty-inch Crank

The City of Berkeley is developing its General Plan, which has not been updated since 1976. There are already a lot of good policies in the plan, but many of the existing ones haven't been heeded. There is actually a policy on the books giving the goal to reduce automobile use, and ones calling for the encouragement and increase of bicycle and transit use.

The reason that automobile use has increased is in large part because of land use decisions. More and more parking lots and office developments are being pushed through, which only bring more cars, while housing stock has been reduced, transit has been cut, and despite lots of energy from activists, bicycle improvements have been slow coming. A temporary moratorium has just squeeked through to halt development of huge office parks and parking lots in west Berkeley, but we have for now lost on the Underhill Parking lot and the Oxford lot, both right next to campus where students are desperate for affordable housing. Housing, not parking, should be built on these locations.

One of the decisions that the General Plan will make is whether to allow car-free housing. Right now, there are zoning ordinances which require parking to be built when housing is built. This eats up available land for more housing and more open space, while greatly increasing the costs of building the housing. The business "community" has come out opposed to Car-Free housing, claiming that it



will increase traffic problems. Even though over 40% of people who live downtown don't own cars, and over 66% of those in South Side don't own cars -- and are a captive audience for local businesses -- their opposition is strong.

The business interests' goal is to build more parking garages, in hopes of turning downtown and Telegraph Avenue into suburban mall affairs, although they'll need a "freeway" straight into the heart of Berkeley to succeed. The ironic thing is that they say that "Downtowns are back" (kind of like "America

is #1"), without realizing why downtowns are becoming popular again -- it's because people are realizing the heartlessness of the car-based suburb. The most unpleasant thing about being in Berkeley's downtown is the excessive traffic and its resultant harsh air and noise pollution, and how uncomfortable and unsafe it is just to cross the street.

When you look at a map of downtown, you see lots of huge paring garages. It looks like a mouthfull of missing teeth. Not to mention the insanity of placing parking garages rather than mixed use buildings so close to a BART

station -- one of the most busy in the whole system. Studies have shown that placing parking near BART stations reduces transit use and send the absolutely wrong message.

A major independent Transportation Demand Management (TDM) study is just completing that proclaims that no new parking is needed (but rather, existing resources need to be handled better), but in the past the right wing 4/9 of the city council (including Mayor Dean) will ignore such studies so all progressive issues continue to squeek by if they make it at all.

Another issue to be decided is whether to include the Ecocity Amendment to the General Plan, which would allow transferring development rights so that buildings could be taller but open space would increase -- more parks and space for people, and more environmentally sound buildings. This has got wealthy "NIMBYs" from the hills up in arms as they oppose tall buildings and are unsympathetic to environmental issues. The Ecocity Amendment would also plan a pedestrian zone in downtown and the daylighting of creeks, which would replace certain streets with a wild creek area and park space.

Protests to call attention to these issues are needed now. Hearings are set for March 28th, April 11th and April 25th. Contact the BCLU at (510) 273-9288 to get involved. Or contact Kirsten Miller of Ecocity Builders at (510)524-4919.

Zine

Reviews



Clamor #7

Clamor is a relatively new, slick magazine that prints a wide variety of articles. This issue has articles on banned cancer treatments, masturbation, a cool bike library in Portland and an interview with Ben Bagdikian. Plus lots more! Articles cover a wide range of opinions.

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# Zine

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The Black Clad Messenger: a journal of anti-authoritarian primitivism #16

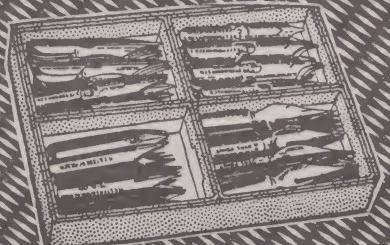
This issue has prisoner news, reprints from the book *Against Civilization*, news from Ecuador and a large direct action news section that is impressive for its news from all over. (One error though, the RTS action happened in Berkeley not SF). BCM is part of the trend critiquing the leftist, reformist wing of anarchism. Check it out.

BCM

PO Box 11331

Eugene, OR 97440

\$8 for 1 year, \$15 for 2. Single issue a buck or a zine or stamps, whatever.



Cometbus#47

What can we say about Cometbus? If you've never read it start now, if you have you won't be disappointed with this one. Its a novel titled Lanky and is way cool.

\$2.50 for one \$4 for two, cash only.

BBT

PO Box 4279

Berkeley, CA 94704

Doris #17

This issue consists of reprints, mostly from older issues. Since I haven't seen most of this stuff it was new to me and great. As always Doris covers a lot of territory. The layout is "punk" but quite readable.

\$1.50 or \$1 plus two stamps

Cindy Ovenrak

POB 1734

Asheville, NC 28802



Clamor #7

Clamor is a relatively new, slick magazine that prints a wide variety of articles. This issue has articles on banned cancer treatments, masturbation, a cool bike library in Portland and an interview with Ben Bagdikian. Plus lots more! Articles cover a wide range of opinions, not necessarily anarchist.

Subs: \$18 for 6 issues \$4 for single issue.

Checks to: Become the Media.

Become the Media

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Plus One Book



What Really Killed Rosebud?

By Claire Burch

\$18.00 from:

Regent Press

6020-A Adeline

Oakland, CA 94608

In August of 1992 Rosebud was shot and killed while in the UC chancellor's house with a machete. This volume gives a picture of her life and explores what led up to her decision to try such an act.

**March is Busy for Anarchists in the Bay Area**

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## March is Busy for Anarchists in the Bay Area



### San Francisco Anarchist Bookfair

On Saturday March 24th the 6th annual Anarchist Bookfair will be held. This free event takes place at the County Fair Building in Golden Gate Park which is near the corner of 9th and Lincoln. There will be lots of books and speakers, including Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz and Ruthie Gilmore, also films and food. It takes place from 10am til 6pm. Sponsored by Bound Together Bookstore. For more info: (415)431-8355 or email: akpress@akpress.org.



### 2001 Bay Area Anarchist Conference

The 2001 Bay Area Anarchist conference will be Sunday March 25th at the Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St. in SF.

There will be two panel discussions, one on anarchist social revolution and one on anarchist collective projects. There will also be many workshops including ones on green anarchy, insurrectional anarchism, mutual aid, the domination of technology and more. Plus there will be a space available for spontaneous discussions. Admission is sliding scale \$5-\$10, with no one turned away. For more info [www.bay-anarchists.org](http://www.bay-anarchists.org) or call (510) 239-2239 EXT 2662.

### Green Anarchists Come to Berkeley

The Eugene Anarchists come to Berkeley. Green Anarchy Tour comes to the Bay Area. Members of Anarchist Action Collective, Eugene Active Existence, Green Anarchy Newspaper, Anti-authoritarians Anonymous and Willful Disobedience Newspaper will be at the Long Haul March 22, 2001 to discuss Green Anarchy and Primitivism. 6-9(ish)PM The Long Haul is at 3124 Shattuck Ave. in Berkeley. For more info (510)239-2239ext2662.

# INVISIBLE HANDS:

## The Neoliberal Capitalist Model of World Domination

By The Cell

With the upcoming Summit of the Americas and its central agenda of establishing the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), we again face the neoliberal specter—vicious, ferocious, relentless in its drive to enforce a world capitalist order.

Through its various institutions, public and private, national and transnational, this neoliberal capitalist order seems to be extending itself everywhere, into all domains. It becomes increasingly global—total, complete—and thus exclusive, uncompromising, all-powerful. It allows no alternative, nothing different from itself, and will let nothing stand in its way. It seems unconcerned and unphased by whatever damage it may do—supremely confident and untouchable.

Proponents of this globalization claim it to be a rightful triumphant march into eternity of the victorious capitalist mode of production. Opponents call it a corrupt aberration, a reversal of the achievements of the many for the sake of the sinister greedy designs of the few. Neither questions the overwhelming power of this increasingly global system.

But in the shadows of this triumphant global march of power, unspoken and unspeakable, lies a profound weakness.

The neoliberal project plays out a dynamic which in its conceptual and world-historical content differs substantially from the popular presentations of globalization, whether by its promoters or opponents. Here, to delineate the conceptual and historical space of neoliberalism, or "new liber-



tions, when it comes to securing the continuation of the private-property profit system, liberalism provides for absolute liberty in imposing restrictions (up to and including total annihilation) on those who would stand in that system's way. No degree of cruelty, no level of destruction, nothing is unjustified in defense of the right of private property.

Furthermore, when the rights of two property holders collide, the holder of the greater property prevails. When rights in property collide with other rights, the property rights must prevail (thus, for example, from a liberal point of view, the genocide of the indigenous population of North America, while perhaps unseemly and maybe even unfortunate, is certainly not unjustified: their right to live stood in the way of the right to accumulate property by the colonial capitalist ruling class, which is a higher right). The

ideological machine guts the notion of freedom, emptying it of precisely that which makes freedom meaningful, and thereby eliminates the concern with freedom as an obstacle to total domination by the coercive institutions of free-market capitalism. This sort of shift and redirection from essential substance to rarefied abstractions and institutional arrangements is a fundamental liberal technique for the implementation of the repressive hierarchies of capitalist power relations.

The primary institution which supports the implementation of the core liberal principle of private property is the *free market*. Much like the marketplace of old which served as a gathering place for the community, this free market defines the space of interaction between people. However, unlike the marketplace of old, the function of which was strictly subordinated to the customs and

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**The neoliberal free market process has two hands, the left and the right, between which it has squeezed the world to near death. These invisible hands wear many gloves: education and incarceration, regulation and deregulation, democracy and fascism, welfare state and free market...**

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system of private property is complex in all its details, but its basic logic is simple.

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The neoliberal project plays out a dynamic which in its conceptual and world-historical content differs substantially from the popular presentations of globalization, whether by its promoters or opponents. Here, to delineate the conceptual and historical space of neoliberalism, or "new liberalism", we must first ascertain what "old liberalism" is. In particular, we must look at whether neoliberalism, insofar as it is new, is new because it is something essentially different from old liberalism, or if it is "new" only in the sense that it is a more recent stage or part of the same "old" liberalism.

## Postulates of power

Liberalism is primarily a social and economic philosophy, though it encompasses other aspects and thus can be characterized as a complete world view. As the term itself implies, a central concern of liberalism is liberty or freedom: liberalism can thus be defined as a philosophy of or belief in free-



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Furthermore, when the rights of two property holders collide, the holder of the greater property prevails. When rights in property collide with other rights, the property rights must prevail (thus, for example, from a liberal point of view, the genocide of the indigenous population of North America, while perhaps unseemly and maybe even unfortunate, is certainly not unjustified: their right to live stood in the way of the right to accumulate property by the colonial capitalist ruling class, which is a higher right). The

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system of private property is complex in all its details, but its basic logic is simple.

Liberal ideologues are not unaware of the potential (and indeed inevitable) problems of such an arrangement, and have suggested various ways of curbing its excesses so as to ensure its stability; however, they do not question the desirability or even the inevitability of the basic arrangement itself. This is not surprising, for as the history of its emergence and development makes clear, liberalism is the ideology of capitalism.

Liberal ideology, rather than presenting a single coherent world picture, fractures on many points into apparently contradictory views, which in summary may be reduced to the issue of positive versus negative liberty. Positive liberty refers to the view that liberty is something that needs to be enabled and empowered, while negative liberty indicates that liberty requires the absence of interfer-

traditions of the community, this free market is controlled by entrepreneurs. The market system defines the transactional economic relations through which capital may be accumulated by various individuals and entities of the bourgeois ruling class, as well as ensuring that those who own no or insufficient capital be free to sell their labor to the holders of capital. The primary freedoms enshrined in the market are the freedom to exploit and to profit.

The behavioral model of the market is one of *competition*. Market participants are to be guided by greed and self-interest, with those most aggressive in their quest for profit emerging on top in a hierarchy of domination. The full expression of self-interest (i.e. freedom) as demanded by this competition is seen as being conducive to the greatest good. The market is a primary modality for determining the variable as-

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## Postulates of power

Liberalism is primarily a social and economic philosophy, though it encompasses other aspects and thus can be characterized as a complete world view. As the term itself implies, a central concern of liberalism is liberty or freedom: liberalism can thus be defined as a philosophy of or belief in freedom as the essential or primary "thing" in life—the essential principle from which all others follow, the essential value upon which all others are built, the essential goal through which all others are attained, and in particular, the fundamental guiding value of political economy.

While it may not generally be known under that term, liberalism is in fact a very familiar notion. It is, in a slightly modified localized version, the official ideology of the United States, as well as other "Western



other freedoms ultimately be secured. The free disposition of property can be broadly understood as the freedom to own whatever one desires and do with it whatever one sees fit, and in particular involves the freedom to deploy and control one's existing private property to increase one's property holdings (accumulation of capital). The freedom (right) of property is thus the fundamental freedom and one which must be defended at all costs, since all other freedoms depend upon it. Note that in this context, private property refers not so much to

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Now, it requires no great feat of the imag-

**As protest and resistance mounts, and the capitalist power structures implement their repressive measures, justified and propagandized through the corporate media on grounds of a need to prevent some angry kids from breaking a window, let us remember that what they rightly fear most, is that those kids may grow up and smash the whole facade of the decrepit bourgeois edifice that is destroying the world.**

Democracies". The notion of human rights or civil rights is one of the basic elements of the liberal ideology. Freedom of speech, association, conscience, occupation, etc., are all typical values or desiderata of liberalism. The separation of church and state, equality before the law, checks and balances are all classic liberal constructs. Representative democracy is the basic liberal form of government. Individualism is a liberal mantra. Choice is a liberal obsession.

But how is this freedom to be implemented and secured? The liberal solution is simple: *Liberty = Property*. Only through the free disposition of private property can all

one's personal effects—the things one uses in the course of daily life—but rather to ownership of things *beyond* one's personal effects, things which *other* people may need or use. In particular, it refers to private ownership of the means which others need for their economic activity, i.e. the means of production.

As a corollary to the basic principle of liberty, a fundamental liberal principle is that any restrictions on liberty must be justified. While certain real or perceived infringements on the "rights of others" may serve as such causes for restriction within the context of social institutionalization of human rela-

tionship to see that freedom, insofar as it has any reality, comprises both positive and negative aspects, and simply emphasizing one over and against the other per se, either in degree or in toto, is not a fundamental argument of principle: what is required for freedom depends inextricably upon the act for which one seeks to secure freedom, upon the specific conditions and requirements which make the given exercise of "freedom" possible. As an abstraction, a disembodied concept, freedom means nothing.

By shifting the dialogue on freedom into this rarefied, disembodied realm, the liberal

client capital be free to sell their labor to the holders of capital. The primary freedoms enshrined in the market are the freedom to exploit and to profit.

The behavioral model of the market is one of *competition*. Market participants are to be guided by greed and self-interest, with those most aggressive in their quest for profit emerging on top in a hierarchy of domination. The full expression of self-interest (i.e. freedom) as demanded by this competition is seen as being conducive to the greatest good. The market is a primary modality for determining the variable aspects of socioeconomic organization, such as wealth distribution.

Within the liberal ideological apparatus, the market is primarily viewed as a self-contained perpetual machine; however, like all machines, it is subject to malfunctions and thus may require repair or intervention. The intervention is traditionally provided by the state, which through its overwhelming coercive force is able to function as an arbiter of market relations, facilitating smooth functioning of inter-capitalist competition, ensuring the availability of workers for exploitation, and enforcing their subservience to the requirements of the capitalist ruling class.

Again, within the liberal dialogue, the involvement versus non-involvement of the state in market processes is treated like a point of contradiction, with two sides favoring either one or the other position, along the lines of positive vs. negative liberty as discussed above. However, from the point of view of the functioning of the system, these two sides are not in any fundamental contradiction to each other: the nature and degree of involvement of the state (as well as the relative dominance of one of these two sides in any given period) is dictated by specific historical conditions. In the end, the

**Continued on page 14**



# ON VISIBILITY

modality of the market is an unquestioned postulate of liberal societies.

## Implementing a new world order

Toward the end of the 19th century and extending well into the 20th, a new trend emerged in the dominant economic ideology. This trend reached its peak in the wake of the Great Depression, with the ascendancy of Keynesianism. Basically, this new trend involved increased government intervention (particularly in the realm of fiscal policy) and policies of the welfare state, and stood in contrast to the traditional laissez-faire free market notions dominant in earlier liberal thought. Against a backdrop of increasing instability in international financial and money markets, British economist John Maynard Keynes proposed the formation of a permanent organization to oversee and guide the economic operation and interaction of the various capitalist states. An agreement on this was signed in July 1944 by forty-four nations at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. The name of the newly formed organization was the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The International Monetary Fund and its related institutions are often seen as the vanguard in promoting and imposing neoliberal policies—policies which are viewed as being diametrically opposed to the Keynesian economics upon which those institutions were founded. As globalization critic Susan George states in *A Short History*

access to common land (the commons or meadow) which could be used for pasture, collecting firewood, gathering fruit, public celebrations, etc. The lord of the manor received certain services or payments in kind from the tenants. The manorial (feudal) system was above all a static system: while you could not do or live differently from the way you and your ancestors had lived, you could also not be prevented from doing and living in that ancestral way. Tenant farmers, generally speaking, could not be evicted and their rents could not be raised.

With the rise of imperialism and the revival of commerce, large landowners and members of the gentry discovered new opportunities for increasing their wealth, which

their bodies", whipped and incarcerated for half a year upon a second offense, and executed upon the third. Such proto-liberal policies proved successful in instilling the Protestant work ethic which Max Weber celebrated as a precondition for capitalism.

This is precisely the picture of freedom that liberal ideologues of capital envisioned. You must freely submit to the domination and exploitation by the holders of private property, and being unwilling or unable to do so justifies the imposition of punitive restrictions upon you: "Sloth should be punished by temporary servitude at least", in the words of Adam Smith's teacher Francis Hutcheson. Any means of gaining subsistence outside the parameters of the capital-

ideological drive, even to the extent that such a drive does exist. Rather, such a selective application of market discipline, far from being a contradiction of the espoused liberal principles, is in fact an essential step in their implementation. A king that can factually be overthrown and beheaded, however almighty and supreme he may fancy himself, cannot substantially act as such, precisely because he can indeed be beheaded and overthrown: thus, he must shelter himself behind guards and palaces like a cringing powerless coward. And it is indeed through a thorough institutionalization and systematization of these "guards and palaces", as it were, that the king can finally ascend to the ultimate throne of power.

## Totalizing dominion

Neoliberalism is frequently put forward as representing a cancellation or roll-back of various "gains" made under liberalism: deregulation, cuts in social services, loosening of environmental regulations, rescinding of labor rights, infringement upon human rights, usurpation of democracy—basically, an attack on all things good. However, such a characterization reveals a poor understanding of the relationship between neoliberalism and what came before. To do so, let us examine the concept of institutionalization.

Institutionalization can be viewed as the creation of formal arrangement to control

**By presenting and institutionalizing its own self-perpetuation as a primary objective, the capitalist mind-control machine seeks to equate the preservation of the system with the preservation of life itself.**

first of all took the form of producing wool for export, and later expanded to large-scale agriculture to supply urban markets. To facilitate this process, which began in the 16th century, it was necessary for the would-be entrepreneur to secure large contiguous tracts of land for his exclusive use—what today would be called privatization. While at first this process was carried out through local arrangements between major land-

ist system as dictated at any given time by the bourgeois ruling class by definition infringes upon the unalienable right of property (profit) and must be prohibited (criminalized).

All this of course is in essence not much different from what today we call IMF policies: all the things which those policies seek to prohibit, undercut or destroy are things which for whatever reason do not corre-

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The International Monetary Fund and its related institutions are often seen as the vanguard in promoting and imposing neo-liberal policies—policies which are viewed as being diametrically opposed to the Keynesian economics upon which those institutions were founded. As globalization critic Susan George states in *A Short History of Neo-Liberalism*, "In 1945 or 1950, if you had seriously proposed any of the ideas and policies in today's standard neo-liberal toolkit, you would have been laughed off the stage or sent off to the insane asylum... The idea that the market should be allowed to make major social and political decisions; the idea that the State should voluntarily reduce its role in the economy, or that corporations should be given total freedom, that trade unions should be curbed and citizens given much less rather than more social protection—such ideas were utterly foreign to the spirit of the time." So why the sudden change?

As should be clear from the preceding discussion, the "left-wing" Keynesian economics are not in fact diametrically opposed to the "right-wing" liberal/neoliberal economic policies. Both are part of the standard liberal toolkit. They are the left and right hand of the capitalist ruling class. Depending on the "spirit of the time" (the objective historical conditions), either one approach

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Institutionalization can be viewed as the creation of formal arrangement to control and govern some activity or set of relations in a manner disconnected from the actual content of the activity. The institutionalized set of relations penetrates all specific relations under the institution, while at the same time veiling the institution behind these specifics and rendering it intractable by forcing a reproduction of the institutional relationships whenever any specific relation is instantiated. To put it another way, an institutional arrangement forces people to go through certain channels and act in certain ways whenever they wish to do some-

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The Enclosure Acts repartitioned and divided up common land into large private estates, revoked the traditional gleaning rights which allowed poor peasants to scavenge ungathered crop on their lord's fields, gave the small farmers the poorest pieces of

ist system as dictated at any given time by the bourgeois ruling class by definition infringes upon the unalienable right of property (profit) and must be prohibited (criminalized).

All this of course is in essence not much different from what today we call IMF policies: all the things which those policies seek to prohibit, undercut or destroy are things which for whatever reason do not correspond to the current requirements of the capitalist mode of production as practiced by the imperialist corporate ruling class—whether these things be local customs, social arrangement, labor regulations, strong local industries, even life itself. The institutionalization of that which supports the capitalist mode of production and the criminalization of that which opposes, interferes with, or differs from it, is a fundamental precept of liberal philosophy. Killing people per se is not a violation of the much vaunted liberal principle of human rights—so long as



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The point that the IMF, World Bank, etc. were Keynesian in origin is telling—but it is easy to be misled as to just what it tells. The very notion that there should be something like the IMF (a coordinating and regulating agency) goes against the supposed spirit of neoliberalism, of the free market unfettered by intervention. Yet there is no question that neoliberalism is precisely what the IMF promotes. Unraveling this apparent contradiction is crucial to understanding the dynamic of capitalism.

The liberal economic order which developed in the context of the industrial revolution took its root in the area of economic activity which was the first to be industrialized—agriculture—and can be traced back to the enclosure acts, thousands of which were passed in England in the late 18th and early 19th century. During the middle ages, the primary form of economic organization was what is known as the manorial system, which consisted of self-sufficient economic units (manors) organized and governed largely by local custom. In England, under the manorial open field system, most of the land was held in common. Families were allotted strips of land to cultivate and had

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land or expelled them outright, and required that costly fences and gates, which small farmers could not afford, be built around all such re-divided landholdings.

This process of "sensibly dividing the country among opulent men" (Adam Smith) had an important side effect: it generated a large class of landless, homeless and moneyless peasants, left to subsist as beggars and vagabonds in the cities. They would eventually form the basis of the industrial proletariat—the wage slaves. However, the peasant class, which had never held "jobs" in the modern sense, was neither willing nor able to submit to the dehumanizing rigors of industrial slave labor. To bring it into line, the free-market entrepreneurs called upon the power of the state. Thus, as early as 1530, in a break with the Christian tradition of almsgiving, a law was issued in England mandating that beggars upon a first offense be "whipped until the blood streams from

the killing is justified by a greater good, i.e. the good of those with greater capital.

The enforcement of free-market conditions through brutal state repression may appear as a contradiction to the libertarian principles of governmental non-interference and non-regulation, but again, the contradiction is only apparent. In the end, the fact that "freedom" was imposed upon you makes you no less free, however brutal the mechanism of imposition.

This situation parallels the contradiction pointed out by observers such as Chomsky, to the effect that neoliberal policies seek to shelter the corporations and the rich while subjecting the poor to free-market discipline, which too is indeed no more than apparent, which is to say, really no contradiction at all. The point, as it were, of subjecting to or sheltering from the vagaries of the free market should not be seen as fulfillment or failure of some sort of religious belief or

thing about a specific set of issues or affairs, thereby guaranteeing that those institutional arrangements persist even though that may not be what the person wants. Liberal institutional arrangement are put forward by liberals as being essentially neutral if not good, and thus not prejudicing any particular outcome of the institutionalized process: they are the rules for playing out the game of freedom which liberalism posits as the ultimate if not only game.

The IMF, WTO, etc. are liberal institutions. The stock market, representative democracy, the existing legal system, and the like are also liberal institutions. The governing principle of liberal institutions is individual freedom: thus, you can vote for whomever you want, you can invest in whatever stock you want, you can do business with whomsoever you want—so long as you don't prevent others from doing the same. So what if you

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# HANDS

believe that profit is immoral (as the Christians did before the advent of capitalism) and don't want to deal with profiteers in your community? Or what if you have a well-established traditional sustainable way of life and don't want to be serviced by corporations? Well, that is a violation of the rules of the game, because it infringes upon the freedom of the capitalist ruling class.

Liberal institutions are characterized by the use of contradictory principles (conflicts) in order to achieve an ultimate objective: allowing the conflicting forces which may naturally exist or arise in relation to a certain issue to play themselves out within a carefully crafted context prevents those forces from challenging the interests embedded in the institution itself and reinforces the institutional framework. These conflicting forces may play themselves out both in time and in space.

The incipient bourgeoisie needed to institute various rights and freedoms in order to destabilize and displace the preceding entrenched feudal/manorial hierarchy. While the details differed locally, generally speaking, under the manorial system the serfs of a manor in theory had no rights at all in relation to their lord and existed solely at his whim. However, in practice, the relationship of lord and serf came to be governed by various entrenched and essentially inviolable customs which provided the serfs with a stable if meager existence and practically granted them all sorts of rights which in theory they didn't have. The bourgeoisie

the ruling class—at the whim of the ruling system.

These essential values and rights which we all supposedly cling to and uphold, and assert as being infringed upon by an unrestrained all-too-global turbocapitalism, are thus precisely those rights which must be clung to and upheld for this turbocapitalism to gain motive force. And as an object or focal point for such clinging, in terms of its efficacy as means of lubricating the neoliberal trajectory, nothing beats the state.

against further encroachment by corporate interests are thus all too often precisely the prerequisites for corporate domination.

So what is neoliberalism all about? It is all about extending, fortifying and totalizing the program of domination laid out under liberalism. By leveraging the technologies developed and the concentration of capital achieved under the welfare state, the capitalist ruling class is poised to extend its dominion into regions and spheres of human activity previously at the periphery of or even

implementing various market schemes and corporate arrangements and rearrangements, a need is created for acquiring and exploiting even more resources, thereby generating more possibility for profit. Thus, for instance, opening up spheres of activity to free-market competition and having many companies "compete for the customer's dollar" lays open that sphere of activity to agglomeration into global corporate structures. With its typical dynamic of deploying conflicting forces to achieve an ultimate objective, the transnational ruling class touts the diversity and quality of services which its free-market deregulation schemes are to produce, knowing full well that all that diversity will be soon enough absorbed into its global corporate structures, if it hasn't been already. The emphasis on individuality and diversity in social as well as economic spheres is a prelude to globalization—the enforcement of a single global order.

The devolution of individuals into atomistic consumer entities and the concomitant dissolution of communities is important in supporting the envisioned global order. The same vapid consumerist individualism which produced a continental homogeneity in North America is to be extended across the globe. The latent threat that communities may break with the global order of domination is to be diffused and eradicated by ensuring that all human relations be systematized and channeled through institutions controlled by global capital.

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The processes of institutionalization ensured that the rights acquired by the bourgeoisie would not be challenged in the same way they were obtained, by shifting the locus of those rights away from the immediate political, economic and military power at the capitalists' disposal and onto a complex system of power management (government) which on the face of it would protect the rights of the bourgeoisie only insofar as it protected the rights of people in general. By providing a mechanism (democracy) for challenging the representatives of government without infringing upon the essential function of government itself, opposition to the tyrannical rule of capital was effectively neutralized. It made the people free to expend what for them would be enormous energy and resources in the political arena, the rules of which were crafted so as to ensure that those efforts

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In short, neoliberalism aims at the imposition of a completely liberal (free, open) global society: a global order in which the private property rights already secured on a more limited scale by the capitalist elite will be imposed over and above all other rights everywhere worldwide. It projects a complete suppression and vitiation of difference and dissent, a totalization and standardization of existing power structures on a planetary scale. Individual freedom, the clarion call of liberalism, is to be fully subsumed in process—in the institutional systemic arrangement of the liberal world order. The neoliberal project is thus to be a fulfillment of the Enlightenment vision whereby God reunites with the world of his creation, i.e. the capitalist ruling class institutes complete global control and dominion. This transcendental vicarage has precedent in Jesus, but he came too early—before the development of the free market.

### Fractures of world order

While accumulation of capital is correctly seen as a primary goal in capitalist eco-



It is in a way not surprising to see prominent critics of neoliberalism such as Pierre Bourdieu put forward the state as the thing that will protect us all from capitalism gone wild. In their forlorn attachment to the nanny state, advocates of the liberal-reformist agenda have blinded themselves to the fact that the neoliberal order which they supposedly oppose suckled at that nanny's breast. This philosophy of wooing the parent to excoriate the child is morally, philosophically, ideologically and practically bankrupt.

It is a philosophy which proffers reinforcing the maggot to ward off the fly, strengthening the larva to protect against the moth—

beyond its control. The market, which served as the primary determining process of social organization, is to become, as much as possible, the only process.

This is to be achieved by maximizing the number and effect of market transactions, by diversifying, extending and multiplying the number of markets and submarkets. Already we see things like the "volume of trading" being put forward as an important indicator of our collective well-being, although it is well known that the vast majority of such trading is purely speculative and materially useless.

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The institutionalization is itself a process—it is not something that can necessarily be imposed all at once in a single stroke. Thus, for instance, in the United States ("the greatest democracy"), the voting franchise was granted to various segments of the population in a gradual manner, once the power of the ruling class was sufficiently entrenched and institutionalized to ensure that it would be unchallenged. An underclass within the system is much less of a threat than an underclass outside the system, because it is that much more difficult for it to challenge the system. Granting specific rights and freedoms substantially ensures that those rights and freedoms will be exercised in accordance with the rules of the game laid out by the grantor, and that other rights and freedoms will not be exercised at all. Such a granting or guaranteeing of these rights is precisely what is required as a precondition for their eventual complete revocation. Your human rights, however unalienable they may be claimed to be, are vested in you not because you are human, but at the whim of

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## The neoliberal wishes to loosen environmental regulations not because he is hell-bent on destroying the environment as an end in itself, but because he knows that "good liberals" will fight him on the issue, and that is exactly the sort of avenue into which he wishes to channel all opposition to his plan of world domination.

blissfully unaware that the larva begets and is the moth, and will no less become a moth for being stronger. No doubt the larva-moth entity, at least, appreciates these sorts of efforts.

By focusing on some immediate surface contradictions, liberal critics of neoliberalism find it sensible to insist upon the former as a means of warding off the later. The former, in terms of historical order, is, essentially the welfare state. But as we have seen, the welfare state and free market system are not in any fundamental contradiction to each other. The capitalist ruling class deploys one or the other in accordance with the specific historical conditions at any given time, in this way playing out a dynamic through which its power may be totalized. The structures appealed to by "progressives" as a bulwark

similar vein. Deregulation should not be viewed as a move toward the absence of regulations: a given deregulated market or sphere of activity may have as many if not more regulations than the regulated one did. Rather, deregulation is a set of regulating principles intended to increase the volume of transactions and reinforce the process of accumulation of capital.

Capitalism has been geared toward and has generated great efficiency, which, taken to its logical conclusion, would in itself spell the end of capitalism, as it would mean the end of profit. Based on a systemic awareness of this state of things, neoliberalism seeks to prolong the existence of capitalist arrangements by generating inefficiency. A good example of this is what is known as "overhead". By having resources used up in

nomic activity, the neoliberal quest for power is more than just a matter of having a lot or the most money: the power of a currency is restricted insofar as there are objects, activities and relations which cannot be purchased or controlled through that currency. The set of systemic and institutional arrangements which support the expression of money-power are known as the market, and thus extending the power and purchase of that money is effected by extending the reaches of the market system itself to cover everything. As we have seen, this sort of radical extension of the market can only be effected after a substantial concentration of capital has already been achieved, and is a natural continuation of that process of concentration, which forms something analo-

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# INVISIBLE HANDS



gous to a critical mass which initiates a reaction that is new in time but not in essence. In this respect, neoliberalism is not essentially new.

What implications does this conclusion have? Insofar as the current stage in the development of capitalism is a necessary and natural part of that development, rooted in its very inception, and is not an aberration or unfortunate choice made all of a sudden based on some contingent explosion of "corporate greed", notions or attempts to "fix" the system are nonsensical. Whilst one can at least in principle reasonably argue about the possibility of "fixing" something that is broken, to speak of fixing something that is not broken and is functioning just as it is supposed to, is to engage in a dialogue devoid of meaning.

ing environmental and labor standards is often cited as a notable component of neoliberal policies and presented in such a way as to suggest that such loosening is somehow essential for the promotion of corporate power. Now, while such standards may indeed protect workers and the environment to some extent and in that much are beneficial, "corporate power" does not depend upon nor is it strengthened by the absence of such regulations. The loosening or looseness of regulations is more indicative of the weakness of capitalist structures than of their strength: thus, corporate power is much stronger in the "First World" than in the "Third World", which is often cited as a locus for this looseness. The neoliberal wishes to loosen environmental regulations not because he is hell-bent on destroying

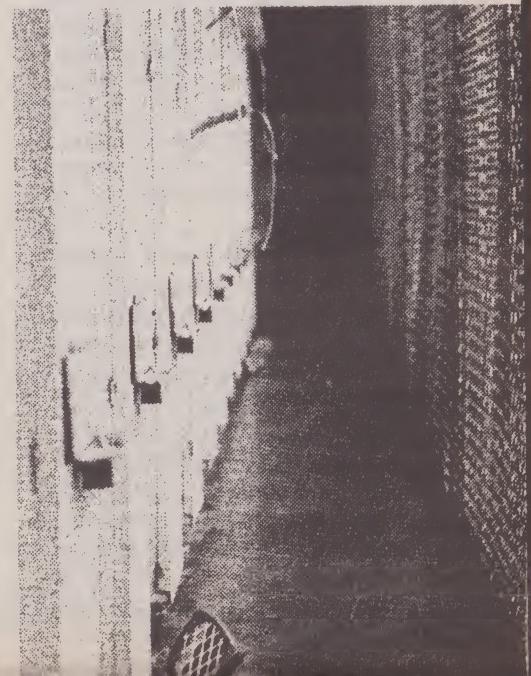
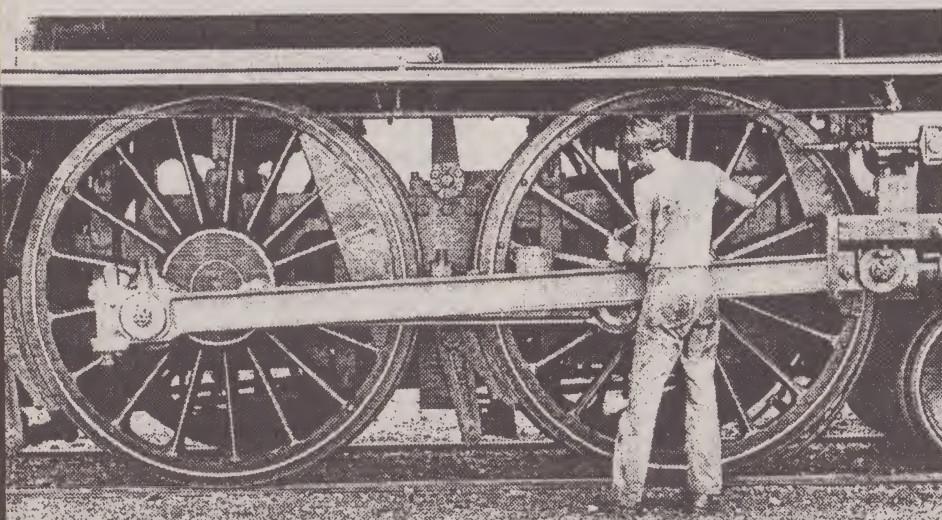
abuses and excesses of capitalism can be guarded against or even eliminated by a personnel change in the governing apparatus of the capitalist state—voting the corporate cronies out of office. The existing liberal democratic form of government, however, far from being a messianic antipode to corporate domination, is a system hand-picked to promote the conditions necessary for implementation of the very corporate takeover that it is touted as being a defense against. Democracy is the political engine of neoliberalism. "Democratizing" the WTO, etc. is precisely what would render it even more powerful and intractable by making its institutional dictates the "will of the people" (i.e. making the will of the people subordinate to, and expressible only in terms of, its institutional arrangements). Institutions like the WTO or FTAA must be shut down, not gussied up in populist trappings.

Any democracy that can be practically implemented under the existing socioeconomic order is a democracy subject to the ruling position of the capitalist hierarchy. The existing democracy which George feels to be at odds with these neoliberal institutions in fact expresses the institutional arrangements of state power necessary to implement the power of those very neoliberal institutions. And it is all too clear that the capitalist ruling class believes there can be no democracy without capitalism, and will kill you to prove it.

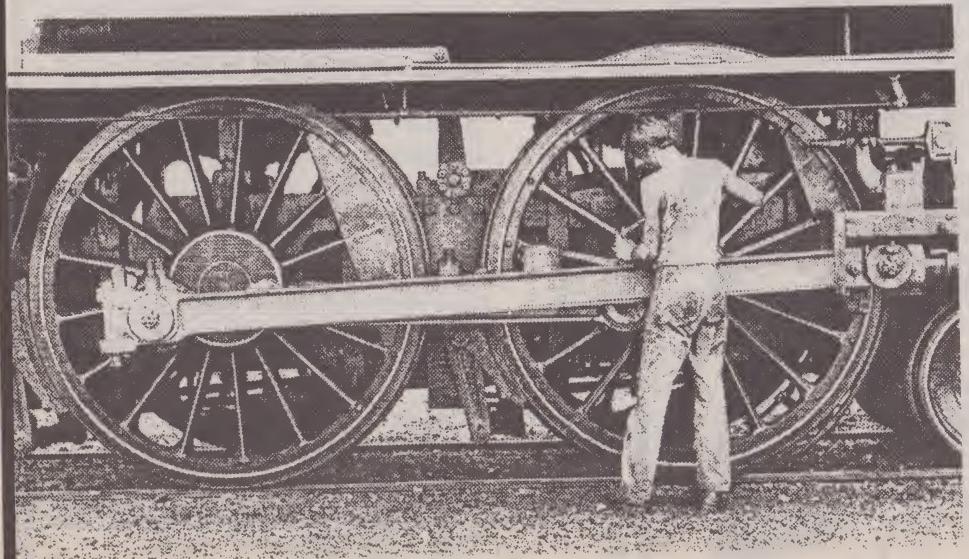
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only by ending all life at that grand moment of union can it be ensured that life never again strays from the Creator's will. In the face of this, inevitably life rebels.

At its highest levels, the ruling class too becomes aware of the fallacy of its vision, but finds itself organically incapable of radically changing that vision. Cracks and fault lines appear, fracturing the eerily beautiful vision into an ugly, decrepit facade. Neolib-



based on some contingent explosion of "corporate greed", notions or attempts to "fix" the system are nonsensical. Whilst one can at least in principle reasonably argue about the possibility of "fixing" something that is broken, to speak of fixing something that is not broken and is functioning just as it is supposed to, is to engage in a dialogue devoid of meaning.



Neoliberalism entails the decoupling of the market as an institution from specific concerns of production or social benefit—the totalization of market to the exclusion of all other principles. It is a shift from primacy to exclusivity. Its single-minded purpose is the perpetuation of capitalist accumulation.

The fundamental, essential purpose of an economic system is to support life, not to perpetuate the system. Today, the ability of capitalism to support life is increasingly being called into question. By presenting and institutionalizing its own self-perpetuation as a primary objective, the capitalist mind-control machine seeks to equate the preservation of the system with the preservation of life itself. The group (corporate) consciousness of the capitalist ruling class and the logic of its institutions will not hesitate to fulfill this prophecy in an apocalyptic moment of global destruction.

And while troubled and troubling calls have been and are being issued from all quarters, what with all the threats facing the planet and the human race, there is still a notable lack of critical clarity in those calls. It is as if to suggest that all these "little" things

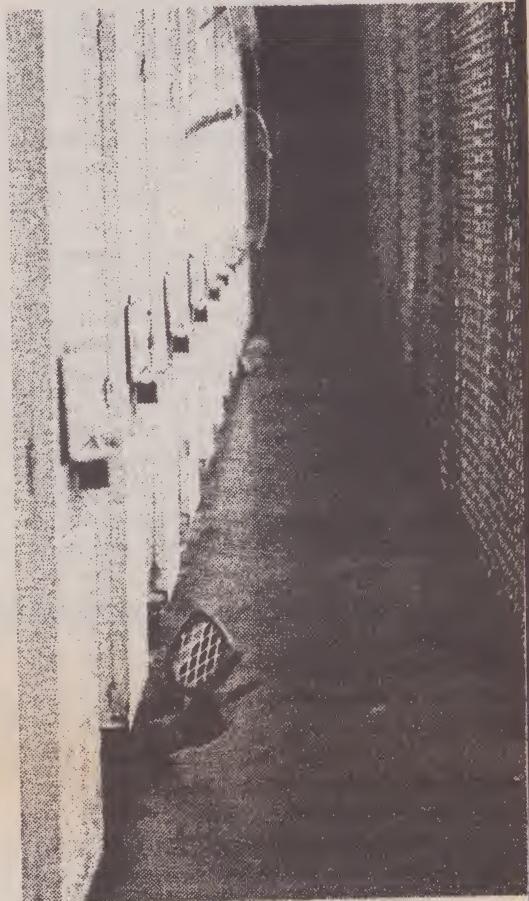
of such regulations. The loosening or looseness of regulations is more indicative of the weakness of capitalist structures than of their strength: thus, corporate power is much stronger in the "First World" than in the "Third World", which is often cited as a locus for this looseness. The neoliberal wishes to loosen environmental regulations not because he is hell-bent on destroying

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Adam Smith, the liberal ideologue of capital, spoke of an invisible hand that guided the free market process toward the desired result—the wealth of nations, i.e. the expansion of the imperial power of the capitalist ruling class. In a way, he was half right. The neoliberal free market process has two hands, the left and the right, between which it has squeezed the world to near death. These invisible hands wear many gloves: education and incarceration, regulation and deregulation, democracy and fascism, welfare state and free market, Democrat and Republican, internationalism and nationalism, public and private, peace processes and wars, environmental protection and ecological destruction, humanitarian interventions and genocide. The machinery of capital deploys these hands in pursuit of a grand transcendental vision of total dominion whereby all things in the

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eralism is, in a sense, a desperate measure in an attempt to repair that cracking facade. This moment, when the corporate ruling class appears to be at the height of its power, is simultaneously a moment of greatest weakness—the potential of a tumultuous collapse. The revolutionary task is thus, in a sense, to turn that potentiality into reality.

As we face the ruling class's newest bid to institutionalize its hierarchical power relations—the FTAA—we must bear in mind that this overt superficial display of overwhelming power belies a great underlying weakness. We must not allow ourselves to be beguiled by the false prospect of immediate access to this useless power and must not fall into the defeatism of reformist schemes.

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world shall be brought under the single governing principle of the market.

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And while troubled and troubling calls have been and are being issued from all quarters, what with all the threats facing the planet and the human race, there is still a notable lack of critical clarity in those calls. It is as if to suggest that all these "little" things that are going on that are going to destroy the planet if they continue are all just slight oversights or innocent faux-pas, and well, if we just did a little more of this or a little less of that, everything would be just fine. The matter is however much more grave than that. Perhaps people's unwillingness to face up to these problems is grounded fundamentally in a lack of solutions: reality is much too grim to face. However, the immediate lack of solutions to a critical constellation of problems more than anything indicates the need to search for and work toward those solutions.

There have been some stirrings in "the movement" to the effect that what we are fighting is not globalization but global capitalism, and this is a good start. Now let us modify this a step further: what we are fighting against is not globalization or global capitalism, or neoliberalism, but capitalism, and what we are fighting for is not justice or democracy, but life.

In this vital struggle, it is important not to set up straw men that disperse people's critical energy for the sake of yielding largely Pyrrhic victories. Thus, for instance, loosen-

of avenue into which he wishes to channel all opposition to his plan of world domination. This good liberal/bad liberal game is a losing game, and it behooves us little to absorb ourselves in playing it.

Critiquing the neoliberal institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO, Susan George writes: "The common denominator of these institutions is their lack of transparency and democratic accountability. This is the essence of neo-liberalism. It claims that the economy should dictate its rules to society, not the other way around. Democracy is an encumbrance, neo-liberalism is de-

signed for winners, not for voters, who necessarily encompass the categories of both winners and losers." This all too common sort of analysis sets up the typically liberal division of a functional whole into two sides, two teams, and proceeds to attempt to play one side off against the other.

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This false division between politics and economics is a division which is crucial to the rationalization and propagation of the liberal/neoliberal system and which it is crucial to expose and surmount in moving forward with our revolutionary struggle. This false division fosters the notion that the

world shall be brought under the single governing principle of the market.

Yet this vision, even as it appears imminent, proves elusive. In seeking to end the conflicting process of history through totalizing and thereby eternalizing a supreme capitalist world order, the would-be masters of that world face the contradiction of having to end the very dynamic which has maintained their power. Competition, conflict, strife, war are the motive forces of capitalist rule. Thus, the vision inevitably becomes apocalyptic: in eternalizing the order and thereby reuniting creation with the Creator,

eralism is, in a sense, a desperate measure in an attempt to repair that cracking facade. This moment, when the corporate ruling class appears to be at the height of its power, is simultaneously a moment of greatest weakness—the potential of a tumultuous collapse. The revolutionary task is thus, in a sense, to turn that potentiality into reality.

As we face the ruling class's newest bid to institutionalize its hierarchical power relations—the FTAA—we must bear in mind that this overt superficial display of overwhelming power belies a great underlying weakness. We must not allow ourselves to be beguiled by the false prospect of immediate access to this useless power and must not fall into the defeatism of reformist schemes. As protest and resistance mounts, and the capitalist power structures implement their repressive measures, justified and propagandized through the corporate media on grounds of a need to prevent some angry kids from breaking a window, let us remember that what they rightly fear most, is that those kids may grow up and smash the whole facade of the decrepit bourgeois edifice that is destroying the world. We must grow up.



# PLAN FOR COLOMBIA

Continued from page 1

ity would be impossible to control and that it could damage many other crops. The application of this poison, which is also a powerful biowar agent, to Colombia, would greatly escalate the crop damage and health damage among an already adversely affected and impoverished population.

Elected on a platform of peace, Colombian president Andres Pastrana initially opposed the aerial spraying program, but eventually came around after realizing that it was a precondition for the all-important US military aid and political backing that his regime has come to depend upon. This dependency more than anything ensures that the problems plaguing this nation will remain unresolved and most likely spread into surrounding areas. "The only goal of the Colombian government is to show results to the United States government" said Oscar Gamboa Zuniga, Executive Director, Colombian Pacific Coast Mayors Federation, commenting on the drug war.

In fact, the "drug war" has already spread beyond Colombia's borders, notably into Ecuador, where clashes recently took place between Colombian-based left-wing guerillas and right-wing paramilitary groups. A heretofore unknown group, FARE (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Ecuador) has claimed responsibility for the recent detonation of an oil pipeline in Ecuador. To shore up their increasingly unpopular regime against this inevitable spillover, the Ecuadorian government has turned to Washington for assistance, and has offered up the port city of Manta for a US military base to be used to support operations in Colombia and extend the US military presence in South America. The US has been looking for such a base since the loss of Panama.

and ELN (National Liberation Army). Some sections of these groups decided to abandon arms and try their hand in the political arena during the 1980's. Determined to maintain their hold on power, the ruling class formed groups to thwart these political efforts. These groups, known as the paramilitaries, had the task of ensuring that nobody outside the two-party system won any elections by killing

Thus, for instance, the ACCU—the largest paramilitary group—is estimated to derive 80% of its income from the drug trade.

The "outlaw" paramilitaries provide the Colombian regime with much needed political cover: it can disown their brutal tactics of torture and murder, while still reaping the benefits. The "human rights" provisions that Congress cynically attached to Plan Colombia,



the candidates and terrorizing their would-be supporters.

To further the process of concentration of land and resources, in 1962, backed by the US, the Columbian army launched an "anti-terrorist" (i.e. terror) campaign to drive out campesinos (small farmers) off the land in support of the profit interests of the big

and which Clinton waived in an effort to get the intervention under way, were supposedly intended to force the Colombian government and military to disown these right-wing paramilitaries. Of course, they were already "disowned", which is precisely what has allowed them to fulfill their purpose.

These drug war efforts should not be viewed as some sort of absolute principled opposition to the drug trade on the part of

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government apparatus to the effect that the war may have to be restyled. Conditions for the possible new scenario of military intervention are already in place: the FARC and ELN are considered terrorist groups. Right-wing paramilitary organizations are exempted from this designation—they do not attack US economic interests.

On a visit to Washington February 27th, Pastrana, in a bid to further his faltering regime and shore up his political legitimacy, asked Bush for increased US aid and involvement, including US participation in peace negotiations with FARC. His requests were rejected. Bush has of course pledged to continue the drug war, but for now, US aid will remain at the level set by his predecessor Clinton. In an effort to save face in the wake of the rejection, Pastrana claimed that "We never invited the US to be in the talks". The FARC have likewise invited the US and various other national and international bodies to the negotiating table. Knowing that internationalization of the stalled Colombian peace negotiations could at this stage undermine US influence in the region, the Bush administration for now wishes to stick solely with the military option.

As things now stand, the Colombian government does not have the military force necessary to defeat the guerilla groups in an all-out conflict, and thus is forced into negotiations, which have been restarted after Pastrana's visit February 8th to the jungle headquarters of FARC leader Manuel "Sureshot" Marulanda. Talks had been broken off last November by the FARC in protest over government connections to paramilitary groups. Thus, the government doesn't have the stick to compel rebel groups to do anything.

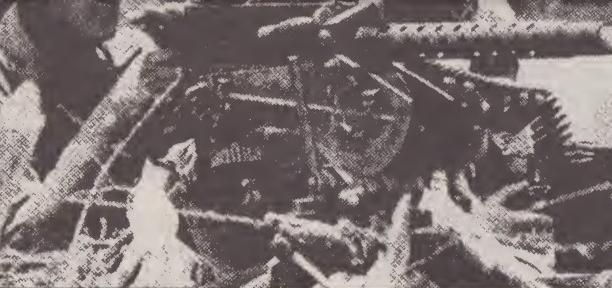
Neither does it have much of a carrot, as giving in to the more substantive demands of the leftist rebels would undermine support from the regime's imperial backers in Washington, as well as unleashing further right-wing paramilitary violence and in all likelihood leading to Pastrana's own elimination. Thus, for now, the government has on one hand been giving in to rebel demands, while on the other

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The culture of violence that is plaguing Colombia has deep roots. From 1948 to 1953, in what is known as "La Violencia", Colombia's Liberal and Conservative parties fought a sort of civil war, resulting in tens of thousands of deaths.



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To further the process of concentration of land and resources, in 1962, backed by the US, the Colombian army launched an "anti-terrorist" (i.e. terror) campaign to drive out campesinos (small farmers) off the land in support of the profit interests of the big rancheros (not a few of whom also happened to be big drug dealers). This terror campaign—following a well-established tactic developed by the German Nazis, perfected by the United States in Vietnam (Operation Phoenix), and propagated through the School of the Americas and other agencies—has in essence continued to this day, most recently in the guise of a "war on drugs".

Drugs, primarily cocaine, account for 30% of the Colombian economy. The drug trade is by no means limited to the "guerillas", who tax its revenues in the areas they control—the military, paramilitaries, and other bourgeois interests are likewise deeply involved in it.

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These drug war efforts should not be viewed as some sort of absolute principled opposition to the drug trade on the part of the US ruling class. A principal architect of the world-wide drug trade is in fact the US Central Intelligence Agency, which has traditionally used narcotics as a vehicle to fund various sub rasa "counter-insurgencies" and other efforts. At the same time, wars on drugs provide the US government with political justification for further intervention and domination, both at home and abroad, as well necessitating more funding for the military-corporate complex.

With the notion of drug war starting to show signs of aging and losing popular support despite a steadfast propaganda campaign, there have been some stirrings within the US

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The political situation and culture of violence in Colombia is not new, and has at its root an entrenched and extreme wealth disparity—which would only be maintained and extended by the FTAA agenda which the US seeks to impose upon the continent. This agenda must be exposed, challenged and opposed.

# BREAST CANCER

Continued from page 5

for free through the web, is an example of this.

**Move beyond a politics of individualism and build coalitions with diverse communities.** Individuals recycling, using less pesticide heavy products, such as cotton, and eating organic is fine, but a small piece of the pie. We are all interconnected and so are our politics. The environmental racism movement is building

practices, including the lack of research into alternatives and agricultural extension outreach, as the reason for the increased use of pesticides. The costs associated with farmers transitioning away from pesticide use

are major economic deterrents, especially since there is no incentive -- pesticide users and producers do not have to pay for environmental and health damage caused by the use of pesticides. PAN recommends mandating the use of pesticide reduction and changing the economic equation, including internalizing the full costs of pesticides, providing for growers to transition, and



The culture of violence that is plaguing Colombia has deep roots. From 1948 to 1953, in what is known as "La Violencia", Colombia's Liberal and Conservative parties fought a sort of civil war for political control. During this political struggle, bands of gunmen, hired by politicians and often assisted by the police, would attack whole villages, scalping and decapitating victims. This program of violence had the effect of forcing some two million rural inhabitants to flee their land, which was quickly snatched up by large landholders and members of the ruling class allied with the Liberal and/or Conservative parties.

In a bid to stabilize the domestic situation, the two parties agreed to a power sharing arrangement of alternating presidencies (in effect not unlike the US two-party system), which lasted until 1974. The concentration of economic and political power between the two parties left no room for opposition within the system and spawned various guerilla groups, the biggest of which are the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia)

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**Move beyond a politics of individualism and build coalitions with diverse communities.** Individuals recycling, using less pesticide heavy products, such as cotton, and eating organic is fine, but a small piece of the pie. We are all interconnected and so are our politics. The environmental racism movement is building coalitions between environmental activists and the neighborhoods who suffer the health effects of chemical toxicity. Locally, Greenaction, Asian and Pacific Islanders for Reproductive Health, the Center for Environmental Health and others are demanding that Integrated Environmental Systems replace their medical waste incinerators in East Oakland with safer non-incineration technologies to better protect the health of the workers and residents.

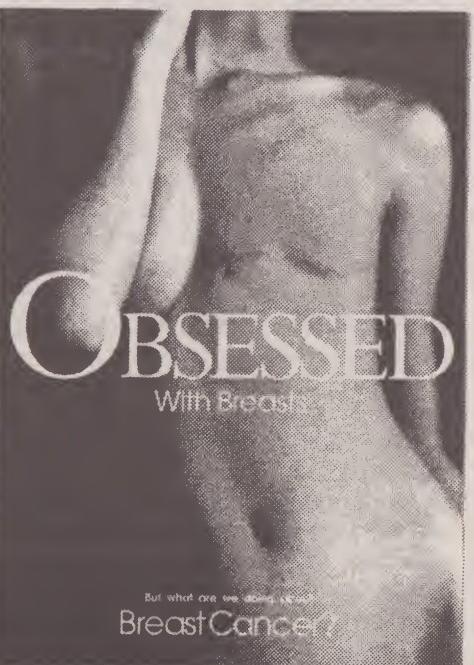
**Pressure the government to make structural changes.** Science, regulatory bodies and the education system should serve the interests of citizens, not industries. Extending the precautionary principle from food and drug regulations to the environment is one necessary change. PAN points to structural causes, such as economic factors and institutional support for present

practices, including the lack of research into alternatives and agricultural extension outreach, as the reason for the increased use of pesticides. The costs associated with farmers transitioning away from pesticide use

are major economic deterrents, especially since there is no incentive -- pesticide users and producers do not have to pay for environmental and health damage caused by the use of pesticides. PAN recommends mandating the use of pesticide reduction and changing the economic equation, including internalizing the full costs of pesticides, providing for growers to transition, and increasing research funding for alternative approaches to pest management.

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- Greenaction = [www.greenaction.org](http://www.greenaction.org)
- Health Care Without Harm = [www.noharm.org](http://www.noharm.org)
- Pesticide Action Network and the Pesticide List = [www.panna.org](http://www.panna.org), [www.pesticideinfo.org](http://www.pesticideinfo.org)
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- Rachel's Environment and Health Weekly (back issues): [www.monitor.net/rachel](http://www.monitor.net/rachel)
- Toxic Link Coalition (East Bay) = [www.agitprop.org/tlc](http://www.agitprop.org/tlc)



# "FREE" TRADE AREA OF THE AMERICAS

Continued from  
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expansion of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The FTAA would force every nation in the western hemisphere (except Cuba) to comply with the rules of "free trade." Tariffs on imported goods, restrictions on toxic chemicals or genetically engineered foods, union organizing, or refusal to trade with human rights abusers all constitute barriers to "free" trade. Furthermore, the FTAA would use the WTO as a model for dispute settlement, giving itself more power to penalize nations that interfere with trade.

Under the FTAA, any labor or environmental protection in the hemisphere could be challenged by a corporation, judged by a secret tribunal, and found to be a violation of "free trade." Once found guilty of obstructing profit-making, the country would be forced to pay out huge settlement fines, or else be subject to economic sanctions from all other nations in the agreement. In effect, any people's attempt to rule themselves could be overruled by the corporate-controlled, unelected, and unaccountable officials of the FTAA.

Interestingly, since Cuba is excluded from the negotiations, the US government can continue to defend us from the red menace with its unilateral trade embargo on Cuba. Furthermore, corporate welfare like the huge subsidies to giant factory farms would continue allowing huge companies to drive out smaller competitors by selling their products for less than the cost of production.

At the same time as expanding NAFTA geographically, the FTAA would expand the types of trade covered to include services like education and health care. Schools and hospitals would be forced to open up to the lowest bidder, drastically undercutting their ability to provide quality services. Whether governments themselves should be running the

Despite the scope of the FTAA, the Bush administration is hoping to slip it past the congress with Fast Track negotiating power, a procedure which violates this country's Constitution by granting the president extra authority to enact treaties without Congressional debate. These changes to the rules of international trade will have a major and almost immediate effect on the lives of people throughout the hemisphere. Because the FTAA is modeled after NAFTA, we can predict its likely effects by looking at what NAFTA has done since its ratification in 1994. Notably, the first thing NAFTA did was give rise to the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico. The Zapatistas understood that the new treaty was one more attempt to drive indigenous people from their land and to exploit the poor for the profit of the rich.

able to move into Mexico, and run out local producers by selling subsidized, monocropped corn at below the cost of growing it. Farmers lost their land, and were forced to join the legions of displaced migrant workers forced into maquiladora jobs or into the US where they may survive INS persecution to find below-minimum wage jobs working in the fields of those same agri-businesses. Under the FTAA, this scenario would expand into Central and South America.

In another case, S.D. Myers, an Ohio-based company, sued the Canadian government for potential profits lost during a two year ban on the export of highly toxic PCBs. On November 13, 2000, a three-judge NAFTA tribunal decided that the company was due between \$20 and \$40 million dollars for profits lost during the ban.



As the years pass, the Zapatista analysis has been proven true again and again. Despite governmental promises of new jobs, higher living standards, and environmental protections in the brave new world of free trade, NAFTA has benefited only a handful of corporate elites. Meanwhile the US has lost countless jobs, wages have dropped 40% in Mexico, and environmental protections in all three countries have been weakened by corporate lawsuits.

It is important to recognize that the FTAA like NAFTA is part of a continuing history of colonization and oppression. Under these

NAFTA undoubtedly sparked an increased focus on globalization. Since 1994, not only the Zapatistas have rebelled. People have held now-famous mass demonstrations in places like Seattle and Prague. From the farmers of France to the shrimp harvesters of India, people are fighting back against the corporate crackdown. There have even been some legislative victories, such as the campaign to defeat the MIA and the decision by the Canadian government last December to release some of its FTAA text. Only by building a strong movement of mass solidarity can we hope to stop the FTAA on its fast track to a

Thousands more will participate in an historical Mexican-US border mobilization, where farmers, unions, students, workers and activists on both the Tijuana and the San Diego will stage massive, non-violent protests. On the weekend of April 21st, they will show the absurdity of a world where corporations can zip across borders, but southern people face death attempting to cross. Organizing for this protest creates new levels of communication and trust between people in the two countries. To maintain that trust, it is crucial that US activists recognize that the border is a highly militarized zone, and people living there have taken on great risk in organizing this protest. It is agreed that to respect those who will stay on at the border past April, the border protest will not involve civil disobedience or law breaking of any kind. This, once again, is not out of respect for the laws, but out of respect for those who will live in the area after the US activists head home.

A series of local events are scheduled in the Bay Area, both leading up to the weekend of April 21st and on the actual day. These events are examples of the local protests, teach ins and self-education events happening around the hemisphere. Going to protests that weekend is only one tactic activists can use to defeat the FTAA. Just as the FTAA is part of an ongoing war on poor, women, people of color and the environment, anti-FTAA organizing is part of an ongoing story of resistance and solidarity building. Whether you end up in Quebec city, Tijuana, or San Francisco, the FTAA protests are a way to get involved in defeating the forces that would lead us into a corporate-ruled, barren world. Check out this list for ways to get involved.

- Bay Area Coalition to stop the FTAA meets every other Tuesday at 6:30, usually at Centro del Pueblo, on Valencia between 15th and 16th. call for details, or check the website.

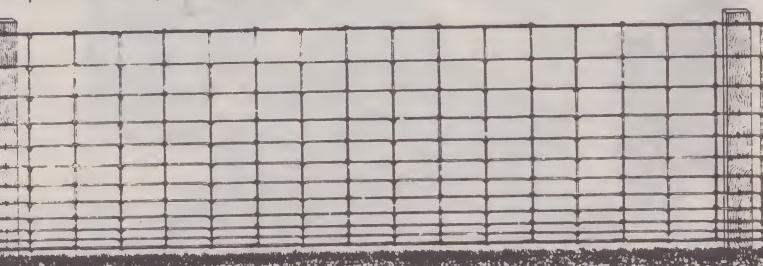
a model for dispute settlement, giving them more power to penalize nations that interfere with trade.

Under the FTAA, any labor or environmental protection in the hemisphere could be challenged by a corporation, judged by a secret tribunal, and found to be a violation of "free trade." Once found guilty of obstructing profit-making, the country would be forced to pay out huge settlement fines, or else be subject to economic sanctions from all other nations in the agreement. In effect, any people's attempt to rule themselves could be overruled by the corporate-controlled, unelected, and unaccountable officials of the FTAA.

Interestingly, since Cuba is excluded from the negotiations, the US government can continue to defend us from the red menace with its unilateral trade embargo on Cuba. Furthermore, corporate welfare like the huge subsidies to giant factory farms would continue allowing huge companies to drive out smaller competitors by selling their products for less than the cost of production.

At the same time as expanding NAFTA geographically, the FTAA would expand the types of trade covered to include services like education and health care. Schools and hospitals would be forced to open up to the lowest bidder, drastically undercutting their ability to provide quality services. Whether governments themselves should be running the services may be argued, but the current "energy crisis" in California provides a small scale example of the type of disaster than can arise when corporate interests buy out service providers. And just as corporate welfare will be overlooked as a barrier to trade, we can bet that the same corporations who demand to make a profit off schools, jails, and hospitals will have no qualms accepting government bailouts when those profits are threatened.

the FTAA is modeled after NAFTA, we predict its likely effects by looking at what NAFTA has done since its ratification in 1994. Notably, the first thing NAFTA did was give rise to the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico. The Zapatistas understood that the new treaty was one more attempt to drive indigenous people from their land and to exploit the poor for the profit of the rich.



As the years pass, the Zapatista analysis has been proven true again and again. Despite governmental promises of new jobs, higher living standards, and environmental protections in the brave new world of free trade, NAFTA has benefited only a handful of corporate elites. Meanwhile the US has lost countless jobs, wages have dropped 40% in Mexico, and environmental protections in all three countries have been weakened by corporate lawsuits.

It is important to recognize that the FTAA like NAFTA is part of a continuing history of colonization and oppression. Under these treaties, the hardest hit tend to be people of color and women, while the benefits of globalization flow to the corporate elite of the north.

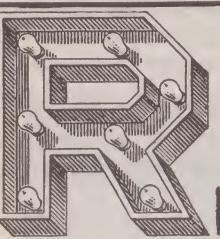
NAFTA's effect on small corn farmers in Mexico provides a case study. First off, to qualify for the treaty, the Mexican government dropped article 27 of its constitution, which protected communally owned "ejido" land. Then, multinational agri-corporations were

In another case, S.D. Myers, an Ohio-based company, sued the Canadian government for potential profits lost during a two year ban on the export of highly toxic PBCs. On November 13, 2000, a three-judge NAFTA tribunal decided that the company was due between \$20 and \$40 million dollars for profits lost during the ban.

To maintain that trust, it is crucial that US activists recognize that the border is a highly militarized zone, and people living there have taken on great risk in organizing this protest. It is agreed that to respect those who will stay on at the border past April, the border protest will not involve civil disobedience or law breaking of any kind. This, once again, is not out of respect for the laws, but out of respect for those who will live in the area after the US activists head home.

A series of local events are scheduled in the Bay Area, both leading up to the weekend of April 21st and on the actual day. These events are examples of the local protests, teach ins and self-education events happening around the hemisphere. Going to protests that weekend is only one tactic activists can use to defeat the FTAA. Just as the FTAA is part of an ongoing war on poor, women, people of color and the environment, anti-FTAA organizing is part of an ongoing story of resistance and solidarity building. Whether you end up in Quebec city, Tijuana, or San Francisco, the FTAA protests are a way to get involved in defeating the forces that would lead us into a corporate-ruled, barren world. Check out this list for ways to get involved.

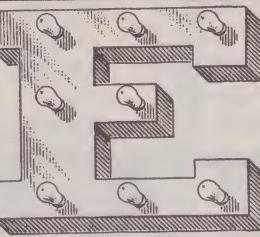
- Bay Area Coalition to stop the FTAA meets every other Tuesday at 6:30, usually at Centro del Pueblo, on Valencia between 15th and 16th. call for details, or check the website. Committees on Action, Outreach, Education, Labor, and Borders also meet weekly.
- There will be a teach-in Tuesday March 20 7-10:30 pm at La Peña cultural center. Contact Global Exchange at 415-558-9486 for more solidarity building info. Also contact 2001 Comite de acciones Fronterizas 626-403-2530 BorderActions @aol.com www.actionla.org/border.htm



## RENEWABLE

petroleum industry gained tremendous political influence in the US and elsewhere.

With the oil crises of the 70's and 80's, governments and industry were forced to think about non-petroleum ways to satiate



## ENERGY

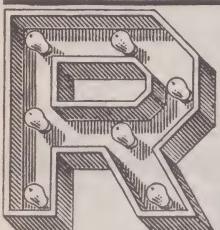
### Increasing interest

Does green power require large Euro-style governmental support? Yes and no! Wind power, for example, has been most successful in Denmark, where turbines were first developed in the early 1980's by local

Continued from page 11

Massive social, political, and economic change are required to thwart their schemes. How can the technology that will facilitate such massive social change be developed by capitalist energy firms most interested in

arise when corporate interests buy out service providers. And just as corporate welfare will be overlooked as a barrier to trade, we can bet that the same corporations who demand to make a profit off schools, jails, and hospitals will have no qualms accepting government bailouts when those profits are threatened.



## RENEWABLE

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With the oil crises of the 70's and 80's, governments and industry were forced to think about non-petroleum ways to satiate their addiction to economic growth. But because of the overwhelming focus on oil and coal, the technology for a large-scale shift to truly renewable energy was not yet available. The Carter administration funded a number of crash efforts into renewable energy development, but none of these were successful because the efforts were biased by the existing fossil fuel infrastructure.

And, of course, most of the research funding went to nuclear power, progeny of the defense industry and major mining companies like Kerr-McGee.

Independent US companies did in fact develop quite a bit of renewable energy technology, but it was all shipped to Europe. The US and many other industrialized countries chose to use more coal to meet the market share neglected by oil. Then oil prices dropped and everything was "fine" again.

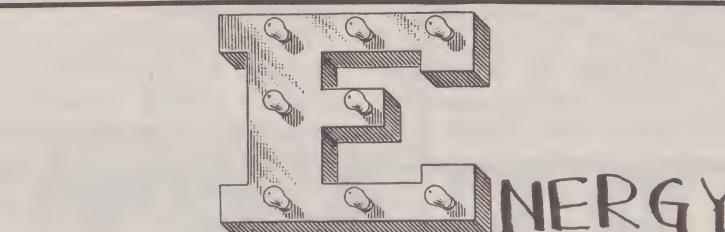
### European green energy

European countries responded much differently to the 70's oil crisis. With an established environmental consciousness, and without such strong oil and coal lobbies, European governments made a commitment to green power through systems of tax incentives and mandated green power purchases. Until recently, most renewable technology used in Europe was actually produced in the US. Recently, European firms have taken over their market.

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Summit of the Americas where the FTAA will be discussed. They aim to get past the border patrol and the wall being built to keep them out and make sure that the elite group of rulers can't meet in secrecy and peace to devise their schemes to control us.

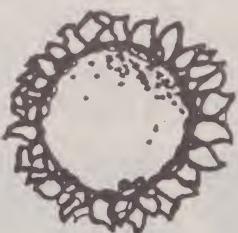


## ENERGY

### Increasing interest

Renewable energy is actually beginning to surface in the mainstream energy mire. 'Sustainability' has replaced 'national security' as the energy industry buzzphrase.

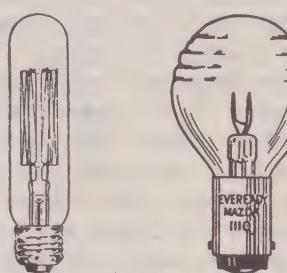
Groups as diverse as Royal Dutch/Shell, the World Energy Council, and Greenpeace are considering scenarios including renewable energy. In 1995, Shell experts estimated that by 2060, 50% of energy used would be green. Greenpeace advanced a plan to reduce fossil fuels to a third of energy generation by 2030, completely phasing them out by 2100. Other groups estimate that by 2050, increases in energy efficiency will cut our energy consumption in half.



owned locally. Because the power is used locally, there is little 'not in my backyard' opposition. Local ownership has also been key in German wind power development.

In contrast, in the UK, although the public largely supports wind power, only 22% of wind projects have been implemented, because locals object to ownership by a national utility.

However, some kind of government investment in green power, whether on European Union or local scale, has to this point been important in establishing renewable energy as a major power source. Despite selected public opposition, renewable energy is much more widely used in Europe precisely because of the EU's commitment. Without some kind of a guaranteed market, such as that provided by a government power purchase, profit-blinded energy corporations are reluctant to invest in an unexplored market.



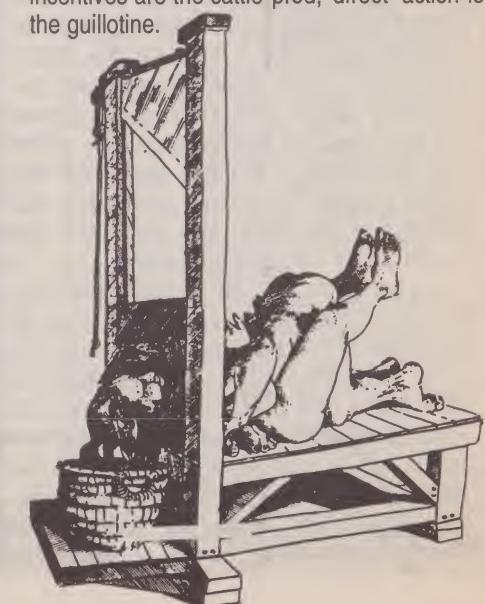
What?! Why is Shell talking about sustainability? The energy industry refers to sustaining the economy, not to sustaining life. The energy industry recognizes that a transition to renewables must occur at some point; they want to engineer the shift in order to maximize their profit.... or minimize their losses. The industry recognizes that, as in any major cultural shift, there will be some winners and some losers. They want to win, *at all costs*.

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Continued from page 11

Massive social, political, and economic change are required to thwart their schemes. How can the technology that will facilitate such massive social change be developed by capitalist energy firms most interested in garnering a greater market share? To fully establish a renewable, sustainable energy scheme, economic growth must be de-emphasized, and de-coupled from energy consumption. The focus must be on quality of life, which is NOT dependent on astronomical economic growth and energy consumption. We must use less energy and increase efficiency.

The energy behemoth must be forced to veer off its current course, and must eventually be decapitated. Governmental incentives are the cattle prod; direct action is the guillotine.



# reclaiming my body

Continued from page 1

a vegetarian & began to realize how good it was for my health, as well as the health of the planet. As I became more familiar with the health effects of the food I was eating, I began to worry less about weight loss. My decisions about what to eat were based on the nutritional value of the food, not what it was going to do for my body. When I became a vegetarian, I developed a new attitude towards food & began to think of it in terms of what was good for me. I no longer felt guilty for engaging in the basic necessity of eating.

I also decided I was going to buy a bike instead of a car, again for environmental reasons. Up until then, the only physical activity I engaged in was the time my misguided boyfriend talked me into joining a gym because he thought I would feel better about myself if I were thinner. Fumbling around in aerobics class, a step off from everybody, and trying to hear instructions from an aerobics instructor who pumped the students up for class with ear splitting music did more to erode my self-esteem than build it up.

I began to bike because it was a clean form of transportation, but soon the physical activity began to feel more rewarding than stepping on the scale at the gym everyday with the dread that the needle hadn't moved down. When I began to bike, I developed an entirely new relationship with my body. I started thinking about how I could use my body to get from point A to point B. I began to look at it in a new way. It was the first time I appreciated what I could do with it instead of feeling ashamed of it.

In giving up eating meat and giving up driving, I realized how both of those acts were questioning huge paradigms. One night, watching TV during a very popular string of

women an unattainable dream of beauty & thinness. Up until then, women were allowed to come in all sorts of shapes and sizes, as long as their waists were cinched in with corsets. Corsets were sold in varying sizes. It wasn't as important for a woman to be made up and make-up wasn't a concern for women in the 1800's. Femininity was defined by their soft curviness.



As women gained more freedoms during the turn of the last century, their looks became more important. Ads were no longer just for corsets, now they needed to worry about having healthy hair, eliminating embarrassing body odor, having a very made-up face. The list of beauty concerns grew as they became more independent. These concerns not only distracted women from important issues of equal rights, it also allowed advertisers to make tons of money of their new insecurities.

Currently, women's magazines contain 70% advertising & 30% text, much of which is complementary copy encouraging women to buy the products being advertised. That's a long



who could afford insurance), then vilifies anyone who does not fit into that formula. Women, in particular, since our culture also teaches girls from day one that our main job is to look good for Prince Charming. And she can't look good if she's fat. End of story.

This dream we're fed that we'll be happy if we look like supermodels is erroneous since only about 5% of the population have bodies the size & shape of supermodels. As a matter of fact, the average size for women is size 14, which is considered a plus size. (Plus what?) This unattainable dream of thinness is great for the diet industry. They get to make about 50 billion dollars a year off of our destructive, self-loathing desire to lose a few pounds. It's to their benefit that our society worships thinness, when most diets have a 95% failure rate. They keep telling us that we'll be fitter if we're thinner. They don't tell us how diets keep us fatter by wrecking our metabolism, putting our bodies into starvation mode so they hang onto the fat, & causing us to gain weight.

was going to make to my diet so I can be the person Victoria's Secrets told me I should be. I'm brought to tears by a Glamour poll that reported over 80% of the women surveyed listed "losing weight" as their main goal in life. I can only begin to imagine a world in which women were allowed to live up to their full creative potential instead of having so much of their energy directed into finding the right diet, hairdo, outfit, shoes, plastic surgeon, eyeliner, and on and on and on. I'm not sure that it's such a coincidence that the first Miss American Pageant was in 1920, the same year women got the vote. Some feminists believe this was the beginning of the recurring checks & balances that are still preventing women from attaining equality as human beings. The beauty ideal became a way to distract women from their newfound emancipation by emphasizing the importance of looking thin & beautiful, and it continues to do that. Women now have 3 jobs; to look good, to take care of the home, and their real job. They undercut their already lower salaries by spending billions of dollars on beauty supplies, clothes, & diets.



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In giving up eating meat and giving up driving, I realized how both of those acts were questioning huge paradigms. One night, watching TV during a very popular string of shows on prime time, I started really looking at the commercials. It was every how one was for meat, then one was for a car, then another for some other kind of meat, than another car commercial. No wonder the people around me couldn't imagine how I could live my life without either. They were constantly bombarded with messages about how they needed both to survive, when in reality factory farms and auto-dependency are two of the most destructive forces on our planet. When I realized that not only was I surviving without meat and a car, but I was healthier in both body and mind without them, a shift occurred in me. I began to question other so called "truths."

I started by looking critically at what I was being told I should look like. This naturally lead me to a critique of women's magazines. Surprisingly, 150 years ago, women's magazines contained insightful, relevant articles about women & what was happening in the world. It was during the late 1800's that publishers realized they would make more money if they catered to the advertisers rather than the subscribers, so the next logical step was to begin to groom women as consumers. By the end of the 1800's, being a consumer was becoming an essential part of a woman's identity and advertisers learned that they could sell more products if they offered



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Currently, women's magazines contain 70% advertising & 30% text, much of which is complementary copy encouraging women to buy the products being advertised. That's a long way from the early issues of Cosmopolitan that contained only one ad! Gloria Steinam once said the goal of women's magazines was "to create a desire for products, instruct in the use of products, & make products a crucial part of gaining social approval." In our consumer society, this philosophy is not just limited to women's magazines. Economists have realized that behavior that is essential for economic reasons is transformed into a social virtue, so, even if I avoid the women's magazines, I still am subjected to images everywhere confirming that I'm not skinny enough, I have the wrong hair, & I still haven't learned how to wear the right shade of lipstick for my coloring. At the age of 32 my self-esteem is only now beginning to recover.

I look back at pictures of myself as a child & think "I thought I was fat?" I wasn't fat at all. I was just a little girl who was completely uncomfortable in her body because she watched too much TV, wasn't encouraged to exercise, & didn't have enough vegetables in her diet. I'm amazed at how skewed my perception of "fat" was. Well, maybe not amazed when I think about it. My warped perception is a reflection of a culture that defines fatness based on height/weight charts developed 100 years ago for a very small segment of the population (wealthy, white men

who could afford insurance), then vilifies anyone who does not fit into that formula. Women, in particular, since our culture also teaches girls from day one that our main job is to look good for Prince Charming. And she can't look good if she's fat. End of story.

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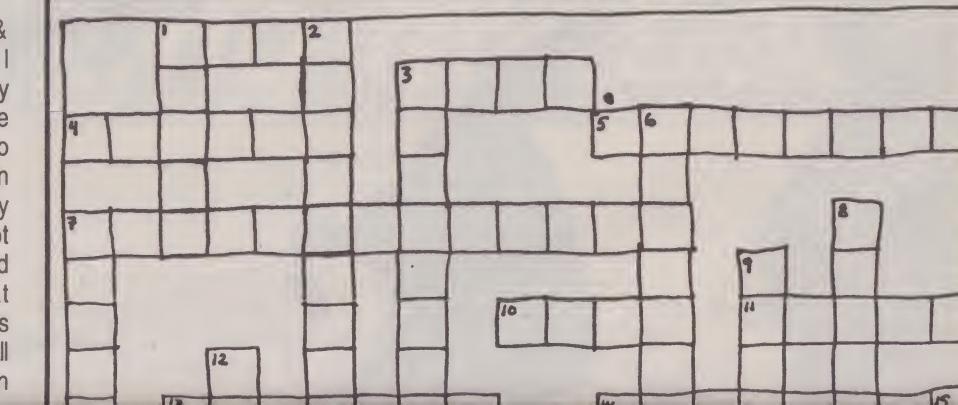
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## Crossword Puzzle



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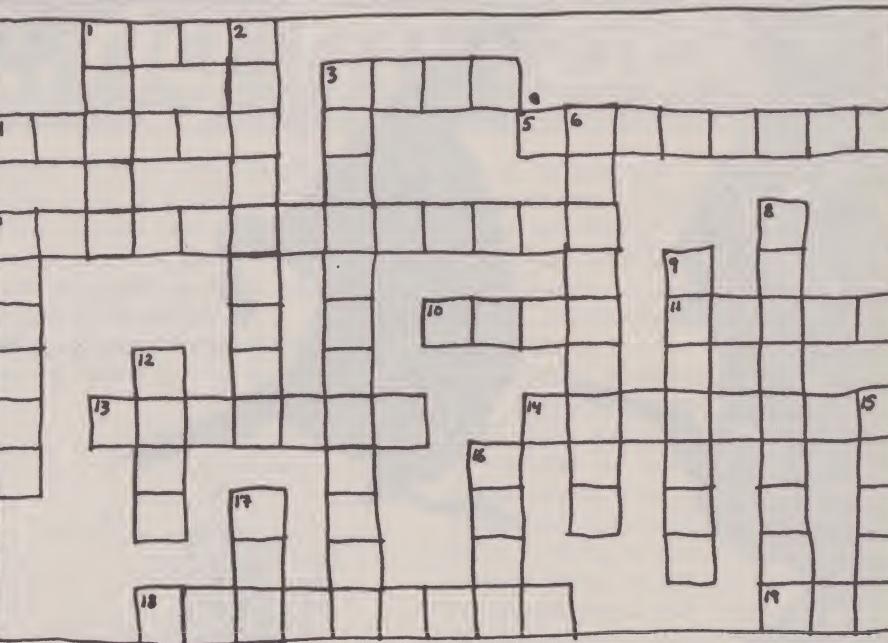
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## Crossword Puzzle



# Action Calendar

## March

### March 23 • 7 pm

Anarchist Cafe - benefit for the Anarchist Bookfair. Vegan feast, talent show & DJs. \$5. 225 Potrero Ave., SF

### March 24 • 10 am - 6 pm

6th Annual Bay Area Anarchist Bookfair. Exhibits, films, & speakers. Free. 9th Ave. & Lincoln, SF. 415/431-8355

### March 25 • 10 am - 5 pm

Bay Area Anarchist Conference. \$5-10, no one turned away. 2868 Mission St., SF. 510 239-2239 ext 2662.

### March 25 • 7 pm till late

Anarchist Film Fest. Films include SF J20 RTS, Anarchy in LA, and lots more. ATA, 992 Valencia St, SF.

### March 31 • 11 am

Urban Sustainability: half day bike tour of local beekeeping, greywater, worm composting, permaculture. Meet east side of Ashby BART. Free. 510.597.1784

## April

### April 1 • 1:30 pm

Anti FTAA Street Party. Protest the FTAA in style. Yerba Buena Gardens, SF. (415) 339-7801.

### April 7 • 10-1 pm

Gardening with East Bay Native Plants. Pre-registration \$10. 2530 San Pablo, Berkeley. 510.548.2220 x233

### April 7-8

Founding conference of Colombia Action Network. Strategizing for the movement to end US intervention in Colombia. University of Ill, Chicago. 312.777.4001 x1404

### April 12 • 7 pm

East Bay Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) meeting. 2022 Blake, Berkeley (510) 845-0540

### April 13 • 6 pm

Berkeley Critical Mass bike ride. Gather at downtown Berkeley BART.

### April 19-22

Do-it-Yourself Skillshare. Workshops on independent living. Free. 924 Gilman St., Berkeley. 510 496-2740.

### April 20-22

- Carnival against Capitalism. Protest the FTAA in a massive two day event. Quebec. www.quebec2001.org
- Anti-FTAA Border Action. Tijuana and San Diego. (626) 403-2530

### April 20 • 4:20 pm

Four-Twenty on 4/20! Gather at People's Park, Berkeley. Also 420 Festival. SF Maritime Hall. 510 486-8083.

### April 21 • all day

Earth Day & Family Farm Day. Music, speakers, food, booths, farm animals. Center St. @ MLK, Berkeley.

### April 27 • 6 pm

San Francisco Critical Mass bike ride. Gather at Justin Herman Plaza.

### April 28 • 10-Noon

Energy Efficiency in the Home. Discuss how to reduce energy use. \$10 no one turned away. 2530 San Pablo, Berkeley. 510.548.2220.

### April 29 • Noon-6

People's Park 32nd anniversary celebration. Fair, live music, skateboarding. People's Park, Berkeley.

### April 28 • Noon

Reclaim Mayday Celebration. Dolores Park, SF. (415) 339-7801

### April 29 • 4 pm

Slingshot new volunteer meeting. 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley.

## May

### May 1 • 5:30 pm

May Day protest/celebration! Reclaim the streets march & street party. Justin Herman Plaza, SF. 415 820-9658.

### May 6 • 5 pm

San Francisco IWW meeting. 2940 16th St, San Francisco, (415) 863-9627

### May 7 • 7-9 pm

Beginner Bicyclist Workshop. Urban riding basics. Berkeley YMCA - 2001 Allston Way. Free. 510.549.RIDE.

### May 12 • 10:30 am

Free Mumia March and Rally in San Francisco. Stop the Execution! New Trial Now! March from Dolores Park to rally at 1 pm at Civic Center. 415.695.7745

### May 12 • 10-12:30 pm

Retrofit CoHousing - How to form an intentional cohousing community using existing housing units. Temescal Creek CoHousing 320 45th St. Oakland. 510.548.2220 x233.

### May 19

Occupation of Vandenberg Air Force Base to protest Star Wars testing and other militarism. 831.423.1626.

### May 31

Article deadline for issue #72 of Slingshot. Send 'em to 3124 Shattuck Ave. See page 2.

## Long Haul Infoshop Radical Library

Radical Reading room • Lending library • Archive • Radical Resource Center • Book & Zine Shop

Open Sunday - Thursday, 6 - 9 p.m.

Sunday: Vegan Dinner @ 7:30

Monday: Women-only space

Tuesday: Anarchist History Class @ 8 p.m.

**Long Haul**  
3124 Shattuck Ave.  
Berkeley, CA 94705

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